MAKING A NEW CHINA

By

NO YONG PARK

With an Introduction by

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United States Senator

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TO

KUOMINTANG

Introduction

ONE of the greatest spectacles in the Oriental history during the past fifty years was the making of a modern Japan. But the greatest spectacle in the next fifty years or more may be the making of a new China, a nation which is now struggling to shake off the shackles of imperialism and rise to the higher level of a new civilization.

The rising tide of Chinese nationalism, unprecedented in all Chinese history, now awakens the teeming millions of China, molds them into unity, mobilizes them toward the building of a united nation, and stirs them up against foreign imperialism.

No Yong Park, the young Oriental lecturer, who is winning an enviable fame and popularity on the American lecture platform, throws a new light in this fascinating book on the present-day problems of China, as few men can. In the first part of the book he describes in an interesting and enlightening exposition the multiple revolutions of China, the political revolution, the intellectual revolution, and the industrial revolution, and the Nationalist Movement, the student movement and the labor movement. In the second part he discusses in frank, candid, straight-

forward, and "let the cat out of the bag" style the international relations of China, the foreign strangulation and exploitation of that country and the nationalist struggle for freedom and independence. He points out the fact that China revolts, not against the western civilization but against certain elements of western civilization; not against the white race but against certain groups of undesirable foreigners.

One of the best ways to promote a better understanding among the nations is to exchange each other's viewpoints. The views expressed by No Yong Park in this book may be unpleasant and disagreeable to us, but they are Oriental viewpoints and we should know their side of the question as well as our side in order to gain a fair comprehension of the intricate problems of China.

Nearly a million people in the United States and Canada have heard No Yong Park speak on various phases of the Far Eastern problems. I hope that the publication of this book will enable more people to understand the Oriental side of the question, for I feel if we can only understand each other's viewpoints, there will be no more war among the nations of the world.

When the average man finally understands the game of imperialism and diplomacy he will not be so quick to hate and can therefore not be so easily

duped in matters of international affairs. Open the doors! Let there be light!

Yours truly,

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD,
United States Senator.

September, 1929
Washington, D. C.

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BOOK I

Making a New China

Making a New China

CHAPTER I

Foundation of Chinese Democracy

THE offhand conclusion of the average reader is that the Chinese people under the absolute monarchy have had no experience in self- government and that is the reason why they make such a mess of democracy today. But it is not true.

From the beginning of Chinese history in 2205 B. C. to 1911 A. D. there were twenty-five great dynastic changes. The very fact shows that the Chinese political philosophy was not the conception of Hobbe's absolute sovereignty but that of John Locke's democracy. Although the name of democracy is new in China, the principle of democracy is very old, and it was practiced by the people from the most ancient times. The Chinese people enjoyed freedom and liberty under the monarchy much more than under the republic which came into existence since 1912. Under the monarchy they used democracy like fresh air; under the republic they use it like water—they are all drowned in it!

Classics of Democracy

The Chinese sages before the Christian era expounded democratic principles and asserted the sacred "right of rebellion" in the old classical writings. In the sixth century B. C. Confucius compared the sovereignty to a sacred mission intrusted for the time being to the "Son of Heaven," and a successful revolutionary could easily become the Elect of Heaven. In the Shuking, the most ancient classic, three canons of government were laid down, of which one is "That the people have the right to depose a sovereign who either from active wickedness or vicious indolence gives cause to oppressive or tyrannical rule."

Mencius, that ardent advocate of popular rights in the third century B. C. said, "Most precious are the people; next come the spirits of land and grain; and last, the princes." He also restated the great utterance of King Wu, who said to justify himself for overthrowing the Shang dynasty in 1122 B. C.: "Heaven sees as my people see, Heaven hears as my people hear." Mencius likewise advised his king not to be content to consult his ministers before making appointments to office, but to obtain the opinion of the people also, regarding the nominees. He went so far with the popular rights as to say, "The Emperor is like a ship and the people the water, and as water can upset the ship so the people can dethrone the Emperor."

The classics are full of these utterances of democracy which form the very core of the Chinese political principles.

Monarchy and Democracy

From the beginning of Chinese history to the Republican Revolution of 1911, China had a monarchical form of government. The Emperor ruled over his subjects with the Mandate of Heaven, which meant no more than with the consent of the people. He could be overthrown by the people if he violated the Mandate of Heaven; that is, if he violated the teachings of the old sages, the customs or the wishes of the people. Nominally he was the source of all legislative, executive and judicial powers of the state, but seldom did he exercise these powers. He could issue mandates and edicts. The exercise of ordinance making or mandate issuing power, however, was rarely legislative. He always promulgated the "rule of reason" rather than his arbitrary will. Assuming that the government wanted to prohibit spitting on the sidewalks, it would put out a sign: "Spitting unsanitary," but almost never would it have said: "No spitting allowed. Fine five dollars."

The Emperor was assisted by the Grand Council and six administrative boards: (1) Civil Affairs, (2) Revenue, (3) Punishment, (4) Ceremonies, (5) War, and (6) Works. Then there was the time

honored institution known as the Court of Censors, which criticized the conduct, not only of the ministers, but also of the Emperor himself. Thus the principle of checks and balances prevailing in the modern democratic states was practiced by old imperial China long before the western nations ever dreamed of democracy.

The chief function of the Central Government was not to rule or dictate to the people but to advise and direct them. So long as taxes were paid up, the National Government interfered little with local affairs. In this respect the National Government was a public nuisance in the eyes of the people.

They were allowed to make their own laws, administer their own justice and attend to their own business. The people were given perfect freedom of industry and trade, of locomotion, of amusement, and of religion.

The Rule of Scholars

From the most ancient times the chief principle of the Chinese Government has been, not the rule of an autocratic class whose claim to power rested on the deeds of "long-dead ancestors," but the rule of those best endowed with the ability to rule—the rule of scholars.

The time-honored civil service examination opened a road of the highest distinction to all the subjects

on equal footing except the permanently disfranchised subjects, including servants, private soldiers, undertakers, prostitutes, actors, beggars, boatmen, and convicts. The civil service examination was used in the Chan Dynasty (1122—255 B. C.) and the Han Dynasty (206 B. C.—220 A. D.). It was perfected in the Tang Dynasty (618—907 A. D.) and used until 1905, when the old system of literary examination was abolished. The principle of the civil service examination, however, was preserved for the present and future generations by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the father of the Chinese Republic. In the West, the English were the first to introduce the principle of the Chinese civil service examination into their government.

The examinations were arranged in hierarchical order. The successful candidates who mastered the old classics and the art of composing poems and essays, must pass examinations first in the district, second in the prefecture, third in the province, fourth at the capital, and finally at the palace in the presence of the Emperor. District and prefectural examinations were held twice in every three years and the provincial and national examinations once in three years. The successful competitors who passed the local examinations crowded into the provincial examination hall where from 10,000 to 14,000 candidates competed. They were locked up into individual cells

where they struggled nearly three days. The successful competitors from all the provinces gathered at the capital where no less than 4000 men competed on every occasion. Those who successfully passed the metropolitan examination took the palace examination.

The candidates who passed local, prefectural, provincial and metropolitan examinations were eligible to minor official posts in the district, the provincial or the National Government, and those who were successful in the palace examination were eligible to the posts of ministers of the state. Thus in theory every learned, able scholar regardless of his ancestry, had an equal opportunity to climb up to the highest posts of the state.

Family Autocracy and Clan Democracy

In China, not the individual but the family was a social unit. According to the old law, if a member of a certain family committed a crime, the whole family was punished. In the new China, the solidarity of the old family system is greatly shaken and individualism is taking a strong hold, but the present Chinese family system is practically the same as it was in the most ancient times.

The Chinese family is usually a group of families in the western sense. For instance, I have at our

home my father and mother—just one of each. Then I have three brothers and three sisters. When my sisters marry they go out to live with their husbands, and they do not bother us much. But when my brothers marry, they bring in their wives and live with my parents under the same roof, and for that reason we are not lonesome. Thus in China the families grow so large that often they make towns of them.

The Chinese family is not democratic, it is more autocratic than the western family. But the clan council which is made up of the heads of many homogeneous families with the same ancestry, is very democratic. The head of a clan has no absolute power over its members. He has to consult about important matters with the members in a clan council, where each family is on an equal footing. The clan is an autonomous organization. It can formulate rules and regulations regarding its own clan. It can settle disputes arising between the families. It can condemn the unruly members of the clan and it can even execute a death sentence upon the guilty. To the members of the clan then, popular government is nothing new. The clan spirit is stronger in the south than in the north, and the southern people, who have had a great deal of experience in clan democracy, are much more democratic in their political ideas than the northerners.

The Village Republic

Nearly eighty per cent of the Chinese people live in the villages. To the village dwellers the central government is entirely a foreign institution; they have a real government all by themselves. There are the village elders who form a village council. The elders as a rule are not elected by the people, although it is the case in some places, but they are recognized by the people as elders because of their reputation and good sense. They consider various problems concerning the village; education, social welfare, general improvements, etc. They pass local rules and regulations without being bothered by the central government. When disputes arise among the people, the case is brought up before the elders to decide. They elect a Tipao or a constable to be a headman of the village. The Tipao serves as a mediator between the village and the country magistrate. He is responsible for peace and order, and payment of taxes. Thus the great majority of the Chinese people who live mostly in the villages have had much experience in self-government. When we consider these village republics and clan democracies, we can see how absurd is the saying that China had no democracy, no co-operative thinking, before the coming of the foreigners.

Social Democracy

The average layman thinks that the Chinese people are very aristocratic. But the fact is that they are socially more democratic than the English. It is customary to classify the Chinese into seven hierarchical orders: the scholars, the land workers, the artisans, the merchants, who were looked upon as non-producers, the housewives, the menials and unskilled workers, and the last, the soldiers, "who live by violence."

This classification, however, has never been of a rigid character. The son of a farmer could be a scholar tomorrow; and the son of a nobleman might be a commoner in the next generation. Grant of hereditary nobility was unknown in China. Most of the nobilities expired within the third or fourth generation. Any one who desired to win high distinction had to study and take the national civil service examination where all classes of people had to compete on equal footing. Save certain outcasts including actors, convicts, slaves, and prostitutes, social equality was universally recognized.

When the white men came and built their walled cities on the Chinese soil and excluded the Chinese and dogs from their municipal parks, and treated the natives with discrimination, the Chinese revolted against this "Nordic snobbery." It is quite natural

that the democratic Chinese resent the white men's aristocracy and their exclusiveness.

Industrial Democracy

Nearly eighty per cent of the Chinese people belong to agricultural families. For the reason that there was no primogeniture and that the properties were equally distributed among the descendants or held in common by the whole clan, the land is widely distributed, and there is no powerful landed gentry class in the country, except in a few provinces in the north and in the southwest. In the northern provinces, the Manchu princes held land on a military tenure, and the Chinese peasants who had surrendered their lands to the Manchu princes for protection, were reduced to a status of serfdom. This situation, however, was an exception rather than a rule. The serfs were made free men under the Republic.

Chinese industry, being chiefly handicraft, has never been developed in such a great scale as to divide the employees from the employers. The master and the apprentices were close friends and both were members of the same trade guild where democracy prevailed.

There are two kinds of guilds: the trade guild and the provincial or district guild. The former draws its membership by trade and the latter by geographical division. There are numerous trade guilds: the

bank, needle, tea, silk, wheel-barrow, and the like. The practices of the guilds are very democratic. They all have equal rights and privileges. They have laws governing the relations of the guild members. If a dispute arises between its members, the guild settles the dispute. The individual members are forbidden to bring the case before the government. If a guild member commits a serious crime, the guild arrests him and turns him over to the government authorities. If the government treats the people unjustly, all the guild members revolt in a body. When the Municipal Council of the Shanghai International Settlement passed a regulation to raise the license fees on wheel-barrows, the guild of the same industry defied the authorities until the order was dropped. When the viceroy minted new silver coins lighter than ordinary coins and forced the people to accept them as regular money, the bankers' guild of Nanking closed their doors until the viceroy withdrew his order. The people in Szechwan Province organized a company to build railways and subscribed $11,000,000, a part of which was misappropriated by the director appointed by the government. When the central government proposed to nationalize the railways, the Szechwan people demanded their share. The government proposed to give refunds only for the work that had already been done and for the cash in hand, excluding the amount misappropriated

by the director. The people protested and started the revolution which overthrew the Manchu Dynasty in 1912.

The object of the trade guilds was to promote a spirit of co-operation rather than to encourage class wars. There was no clash or conflict between the master and apprentice. It was only after western industrialism had been introduced into China that the labor unions and capitalist associations were organized to cut each other's throats.

The Chinese labor unions, however, still carry with them the old spirit of co-operation between the laborers and the capitalists. In Russia, for example, the slogan of the toiling masses is "Workers of the world, unite." But in China the slogan is "Workers, merchants, bankers and students unite."

Western Democracy in the East

Judging from the foregoing studies, the Chinese people were socially and industrially more democratic and politically more self-governing under the monarchial form of government than many of the western nations with a republican form of government. But the practice of Chinese self-government did not go over the village walls. They had never thought of extending the principle of self-government from the villages into the capital until they came in contact with the democratic nations in the

west. Had not the western ideals entered Chinese politics, the revolution of 1911 would have resulted in an establishment of a new dynasty instead of a republic. The Chinese people were very rebellious but not revolutionary. That is, they rebelled against tyranny and autocracy and set up new dynasties twenty-five times between 2205 and 1911 but they did not revolutionize the government, retaining instead the same old monarchial system. The principles of popular sovereignty introduced from the western nations through the foreign missionaries and merchants and the Chinese students who had studied abroad gave the revolutionaries an impetus, not only to upset the Manchu Dynasty but completely to revolutionize the government by changing it from a monarchy to a republic.

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CHAPTER II

The Republic Lost

Reform Under the Manchus

DEFEATED by the "Western Barbarians" at the Opium War in 1840 and in the "Arrow War" in 1858, and weakened by the Taiping Rebellion, 1850-64, which overran fourteen out of eighteen provinces of China, slaughtering 20,000,000 inhabitants, the Manchu Dynasty was about to take a nose dive into the sea. China then was under the thrall of Empress Dowager, Tzu Hsi, or the Old Buddha by nickname, who ruled the land directly or indirectly from 1861 to 1908. It was China's misfortune to allow a short-sighted, self-seeking woman to monkey with politics at the time of great crisis. When wise statesmen recommended army and navy reforms and appropriated funds for the purpose, Tzu Hsi built her summer palace with them.

It was not until after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, when the celestial Empire was crushed within ten months by the little island kingdom which just had adopted the western science of war, that China thought of reforming the old imperial system. The progressive statesmen had the floor. Under the lead-

ership of Kang Yu-wei, and Liang Chi-chao, some thirty-seven reform decrees were issued in the name of the Emperor from June 14th to September 16th, 1898. During these "Hundred Days" the whole country was made a modern state at least on paper. Her army, navy, education, industry and the like—all were to be reformed after the western system.

Tzu Hsi had kept silence over these reforms until the reformers went too far. Through Yuan Shih-kai, one of the progressives, Tzu Hsi was told that it was necessary to arrest and imprison the Empress Dowager and execute Jung Lu, her most royal supporter and Yuan's "blood brother." She immediately launched a coup d'état and made the Emperor a prisoner in the palace, executed the reformists, and assumed a full control over the administration of the government.

During the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, the Empress Dowager sided with the Boxers and hurled defiance at the world powers. When the allied troops occupied Peking she fled to Sian, in Shensi, where she changed her contemptuous attitude toward the "Foreign Devils" and made up her mind to reform the Empire.

But great changes did not come until Japan had demonstrated her efficiency in the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5. The government promptly issued numerous edicts for reforms in education, army

organization, and administration, after the Japanese system. The old civil service examination was abolished and new schools were built. Thousands of students were sent to Japan. The Chinese army was reorganized under the direction of Yuan Shih-kai, who employed German instructors to drill his troops. A commission was sent abroad to study the principles of constitutional government. But the death of Empress Dowager on November 15, 1908, weakened the reform movement.

The program was slowly carried out by Prince Chun, regent to the three-year-old child Emperor. A national constitution was to be granted within nine years, namely in 1917. Meantime, as a step toward the national constitution, provincial assemblies were summoned in different provinces in October, 1909, and a national assembly to be convened at Peking in October, 1910. When the 200 delegates assembled, they petitioned the throne to shorten the period in which the constitution was to be completed. Consequently, the constitution was to be promulgated in 1914 instead of 1917. In spite of these reforms, discontent among the revolutionists was growing rapidly. At the very last minute the Peking Government promulgated the Nineteen Articles of Constitution which would have made the Emperor as helpless as King George of England, but it was too late to halt the revolution.

The Revolution

At the eve of the revolution there were two discontented factions: one group wanted to set up a new dynasty and the other wanted a republic. Both had common complaints against the Manchu rule and they united their force against the Imperial Government.

On October 9, 1911, a bomb was accidentally exploded in one of the workshops of the revolutionaries in the Russian concession at Hankow. A vigorous search was made by the Russian and Chinese police. Thirty-two suspects were arrested, of whom four were beheaded. The revolutionaries hastened their attack on the Manchus. Under the leadership of General Li Yuan-hung, they captured Wu-chang, capital of the great provinces of Hunan and Hupeh. By December most of the provinces south of the Yangtze River were under the control of the revolutionary force. But the Manchu Government had a very strong army under the control of Yuan Shih-kai, with which it could defeat any forces the revolutionaries might muster against it. The revolutionaries won their cause, not by force, but by diplomacy and compromise.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the moving spirit of the revolutionaries, arrived at Shanghai from Europe on December 25th, 1911, and was elected President of the Republic of China. Later he resigned in favor of

Yuan Shih-kai and the latter cast his might for the Republican cause. The young Emperor was compelled to abdicate but was allowed to retain his title, remain in the palace and receive an annuity of 4,000,000 taels. He stayed at the palace until 1924, when he was ousted by General Feng Yu-hsiang. Now he resides in the Tientsin Foreign Concession.

Government of the Republic

The Provisional Constitution adopted on March 10, 1912, at Nanking by the delegates, some elected, and others assumed their authority, was the basis of the Republican form of government. This constitution remained nominally in force until the permanent constitution was proclaimed on October 10, 1923. It provided a President and a Vice-president, a single-chambered national council which was to act as a legislative body until the regular parliament could be convened in accordance with laws which the council was to enact. The parliamentary law drawn up by the council provided for a bi-cameral legislature. The upper house, or senate, comprised 274 members and the lower house, 596. When the parliament opened its first session in January, 1913, two-thirds of the members—followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, were adherents of the Kuomintang.

The Provisional Constitution also created a hybrid cabinet, neither presidential nor parliamentary.

It formed a kind of a dual executive with the President. The chief executive could not exercise his power without the counter-signature of his ministers. The power of the President was greatly curtailed and he was made a mere figure-head of the state. The ministry comprised a premier and the ministers of nine departments: Foreign Affairs, Interior, Commerce and Agriculture, Education, Communications, War, Navy, Justice and Finance.

Yuan Shih-kai

Yuan Shih-kai, who became President of the Republic after the resignation of Sun Yat-sen, was greatly handicapped by the parliament which interfered with the President so much that he could scarcely make a move without the sanction of the legislature. Seeing that he could do very little under those circumstances, he ousted the Kuomintang members and dissolved the parliament. He abrogated the Provisional Constitution and proclaimed his own, entitled "The Constitutional Compact." The compact was drafted in accordance with the memorandum of Dr. Goodnow of Johns Hopkins University, in which Dr. Goodnow suggested that a monarchy would be better for China than a republic. According to the provisions of the compact, the President possessed unlimited power; he was a monarch in all but in name. He created a single-chambered legisla-

tive assembly. He created a single secretariat, abolishing the cabinet. He could open, close or dissolve the assembly. He could veto any bill passed by the assembly.

Yuan Shih-kai's ambition did not stop there. He wanted to become the Napoleon of China. He planned to become the Emperor of China in 1915. The southern provinces openly revolted against the scheme and the foreign powers, too, notably Japan, were unfriendly toward the proposed monarchy. Consequently, the date to mount the throne was postponed indefinitely. Later his plan to restore a monarchy died out permanently with his death which came on June 6, 1916.

After the death of Yuan Shih-kai, there was one fruitless attempt to restore the dethroned Manchu Emperor. It was in 1917 when General Chang Hsun constituted a coup d'état and proclaimed the restoration of the Manchu Dynasty. Peking was under his control for two weeks, after which the republic was restored.

Tuchunate Cannibalism

From the establishment of the republic in 1912 to 1928, the whole country was torn asunder by the treacherous tuchuns, or military governors. The history of the republic is a history of the tuchunate wars. Not a single year passed without some sort of

fighting and not a single day passed without butchering the innocent people by the murderous tuchunate soldiers. All the strife, war, unrest and turmoil which overran the country during the last sixteen years of the republic is not due to the lack of experience of the Chinese in the democratic form of government but is primarily due to the activities of the aggressive, mischief-making tuchuns. Who are the tuchuns, how did they originate?

China is divided into twenty-three provinces, eighteen in China proper and five in the outlying territories. Under the Manchu regime, these provinces were controlled by the central government through governors and viceroys. During Yuan Shih-kai's presidency, he appointed many of the old Manchu generals and viceroys, most of whom were his friends and followers, as governors of the provinces. Yuan Shih-kai, being a strong man, could control them well. But after his death, all these governors became all-powerful kings and generals in their respective provinces. They ignored the central government and often threatened it with invasions. They strengthened their position by training their troops. It was estimated that from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 were always under arms. Any one who had a strong army and money enough to pay the soldiers, could become a ruler of the country.

In order to finance their troops, they drained the

life blood of the innocent people. They collected taxes in advance; in some places taxes were paid up three to six years in advance. As a rule, one man did not remain in power long and the people were forced to pay again to the newcomers. Control of the Shanghai district changed hands four times in two years, and after each change the people were compelled to pay forced levies. They manufactured paper money and forced the people to use this currency as legal tender. At times they frankly confiscated the properties of the wealthy people. And at other times the generals simply said to the people: "You must pay me so much at once, or I will permit my soldiers to loot your town." Their cruelties did not stop here; they forced the people to grow opium from which they could collect more taxes.

The greatest enemies of the Chinese were the Chinese themselves. For sixteen years these barbarous militarists terrified the people, paralyzed industry, demoralized society, and invited foreign intervention in China. These Chinese tuchuns did more harm for China in sixteen years than all the foreign gunboats could have done in a hundred years.

Some of the leading militarists were Chang Tso-lin, Wu Pei-fu, Sun Chang-fang, Chang Tsung-chang and Feng Yu-hsiang—all these northern militarists made alliances and counter-alliances by moving from one faction to the other like shifting sands. Usually

two factions, say A and B, started the battle. The third faction, C, and other minor factions stood aloof at first, but sooner or later, they all joined the gaining party regardless of its principles. Let us say that A was winning, then, all others would join A against B. As soon as B was down, however, they split again and commenced to fight each other. Meantime B, having a breathing space, stood up again. He sided with either C, or his former enemy A, according to the circumstances. Let us assume that B joined C against A. This alliance did not last any longer than the downfall of A. Thus, A, B and C were friends one day and enemies the next day; they were at peace one day and at war the next. For this reason some critics said that the chief duty of the Chinese Government is to govern the governors.

The Republic in Turmoil

Within the space of fourteen years, from 1912 to 1926, there were forty-three cabinet changes, twenty-five shiftings in the ministry of justice, and eight presidents. Sun Yat-sen, Yuan Shih-kai, Li Yuan-hung, Feng Kuo-chang, Hsu Shih-chang, Tsao Kun and Tuan Chi-jui. No one of these presidents remained on the post until the tenure of his office expired. They were presidents one day and prisoners the next day. The Peking Government became a plaything of the military tuchuns and the presidents were

their puppets. Save Sun Yat-sen and Yuan Shih-kai, no one of these men could, by reason of ability or prestige, become the President of the Republic. Each became the chief executive by either chance or by accident, or because he was a militarist, or because he had military friends, or because he had enough money to purchase the office. Tsao Kun, known as the Million Dollar President, spent eleven million dollars to be elected President, paying $5,000 to each member of the parliament who voted for him.

It was under Tsao Kun's presidency that the so-called Permanent Constitution of the Republic was proclaimed on October 10, 1923. One outstanding feature of the permanent—or rather, impermanent constitution, was the adoption of the federal principle, somewhat similar to that of the United States. The National Constitutional Drafting Committee adopted a new permanent constitution on December 11, 1925. But it is clear that the Nationalist Government will pay little attention to these constitutions prepared by the Peking Government. It must be remembered that the Kuomintang whose members were ousted in 1913 by President Yuan Shih-kai, remained independent in the south ever since 1917, refusing to recognize the legality of the Peking Government.

The last militarist who ruled in Peking was Generalissimo Chang Tso-lin, an ambitious Manchurian

with fifty wives. He was a virtual dictator of the Peking Government from the spring of 1926 to June 1928, when he evacuated Peking in the face of the Nationalist march into the Capital. On his way to Manchuria, his train was bombarded in the suburbs of Mukden and Chang Tso-lin was so severely injured that he died of his wounds.

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CHAPTER III

The Triumph of the Nationalists

The Rise of Nationalism

DECATUR'S oft-quoted toast, "My country —May she always be in the right—but my country, right or wrong!" has found no place in Chinese history. China had great religions, philosophy, literature, and science, too, but she had no nationalism. The Chinese toast was "My family—may it always be in the right—but my family, right or wrong!" For 4000 years the Chinese people lived and died, not for their country, but for their family and for their ancestors. Confucius taught that family loyalty comes first, loyalty to the Emperor comes second and individual achievement comes last. According to this principle one may be justified in selling his country or robbing the government for his family welfare just as in the western countries the state can rightfully take the property of the individual for the welfare of the public. With familism above nationalism and loyalty to the family above loyalty to the state, no nation can succeed in a democratic form of government. Fortunately, the importation of western ideals and the activities of foreign

imperialism stirred up the Chinese nationalism and patriotism.

The rising tide of Chinese nationalism is brought about by three major factors: democracy, the Kuomintang, and imperialism. The students furnished the brain, the labor unions and the Nationalist army furnished the muscle, and foreign imperialism furnished the opposition to the Nationalist Movement.

Nationalism and Imperialism. Seventy-five years ago the attitude of the western imperialistic states toward Japan was arrogant and overbearing; that attitude caused the rise of super-nationalism in Japan; that nationalism molded the 400 independent feudal states into one united empire; and that nationalism caused Japan to adopt western militarism and commercialism over night and finally made the modern Japanese Empire.

The present policy of the powers regarding China is far more selfish and unjust than that of the western imperialistic states toward Japan seventy-five years ago. The policy of the powers is simply this; "If you display an ability to 'lick us,' we will show you some respect." This is the attitude that is stirring the Chinese millions into action.

The foreign strangulation of China—financial control, customs restrictions, extra-territoriality, settlements and the leased territories, and the sending of foreign troops and warships—all these

excite Chinese patriotic sentiment and arouse their national consciousness. The Japanese Twenty-One Demands in 1915, the British and French massacre of the Chinese civilians in Canton in June, 1926, the American-British bombardment of Nanking in March, 1927, and the Japanese intervention in Tsinan in May, 1928, all furnished ample fuel to the burning fire of Chinese nationalism. Foreign imperialism works so shamefully in China that, in the minds of some Chinese, patriotism and anti-foreignism are synonymous. Some Chinese think in order to be patriotic they must be anti-foreign. Anti-foreign agitation, as a matter of fact, is only one form of their patriotic demonstrations.

If the powers continue to pursue the traditional policy of aggression, China will have to learn some of the western tricks of shooting and killing as Japan did. With a population of forty million (now fifty-eight million) Japan mastered the western science of war, and became a commanding world power. If China with her population of 400 million learns the same, she will become even a greater world power than Japan. Whether the change will be peaceful or war-like, the destiny of the rising republic will depend on the attitude of the great world powers.

Nationalism and the Student Movement. It was the students who imported the western ideals of democracy, sovereignty and independence and spread

their ideals and formed organizations to perpetuate and execute their ideals. Dr. Yang Kuang-sheng, Professor of Chinese at Georgetown University, wrote in Current History, June, 1927:

"During the last twenty years young and educated men have gone abroad and they have come home with a racial and national consciousness never so keenly felt before. Before their departure and in common with thousands of other young men who have gone through the Chinese middle schools or colleges, they have already learned of China's military reverses, of indemnities, concessions and other humiliating incidents. On the eve of their departure they find that at Shanghai, in their own country, they are barred from the municipal parks, scowled at by the Sikhs and pushed off the sidewalk by drunken marines. When they reach the foreign countries, they discover that immigration laws discriminate against them. And during the four years or more of their sojourn abroad, they have been constantly reminded of their nationality, their race, their 'inferiority.' At the same time they study democratic political theories, the American and French Revolutions, 'taxation without representation' freedom, self determination, sovereignty, independence and equality.

"These men have reached one conclusion: they may be discriminated against in countries where they are foreigners, but they ought to have at least an equal, if not a superior, status with the aliens in their home country. And in order to preserve their personal as well as national self-respect, they feel that they must put their own country on the basis of inter-

national equality. This is the spark that set off the explosion. And so we now see young China, Nationalistic rather than Bolshevistic, anti-foreign, or anti-Christian, sweeping across the country, determined to establish a government that will achieve internal democracy and prosperity as well as international equality."

China has about 7,000,000 students in the elementary schools, 30,000 students in colleges and universities at home and about 8,000 of them study abroad. Over 2,500 are in the United States; Japan and France each has about 2,000; approximately 500 are in Germany, 200 in the British Isles and about 650 in Russia. These students, when they return, are not without criticisms. Those who study in America bring back with them speed and nervousness; women students bring in bobbed hair, short skirts and a superiority complex over man. Those who study in Germany introduce beer and those from France bring in shrugging shoulders and a few pleasant vices.

But the great contribution made by the students for the Nationalist Movement cannot be overestimated. It was the students who recommended the building up of a strong navy, but the Empress Dowager squandered the appropriation which amounted to 265,000,000 taels for the building of a palace instead. It was the students in Japan who organized the Tung Meng Hui, which overthrew the Manchu

Dynasty and established the republic. It was the students who carried out a nation-wide anti-Japanese agitation for the restoration of Shantung just after the world war. It was the students who conducted anti-British demonstrations after the Shanghai shooting in May, 1925. The students were and are the vanguard of revolution and the forerunners in the Nationalist Movement. Although it is the students who agitated the masses and aroused nationalism, it is the Kuomintang which asserted and materialized nationalism in a concrete form.

The Origin and Development of the Kuomintang

The fall of Peking, the triumph of the nationalists and the recognition of the Nationalist Government by the United States in June, 1928, call for a careful study of the origin, growth, principles and policies of the Kuomintang, the new master of China.

In the Ninth Moon of 1895, a young man of thirty years of age stood one night in the shadows of the Imperial Yamen in Canton with a band of dare-to-dies, ready to make an attack against the Manchus. That young man was Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Republic of China, and that band of dare-to-dies were members of a reform society called Kao Lao Hui, organized by Dr. Sun in the Canton

Medical College, and the forerunners of the present day Kuomintang.

After his first attempt, Dr. Sun fled from the country to save his life and visited the United States and England. In 1907, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Hwang Hsing, C. T. Wang, Hu Han-min and others organized in Japan the Tung Meng Hui, or Alliance Party. After the revolution the Tung Meng Hui was reorganized in 1912 and became the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party.

It was the Kuomintang, then the Tung Meng Hui, which played the most important part in the revolution. It was the Kuomintang which captured two-thirds of the seats in the National Parliament. In 1913 the Kuomintang members were expelled from the Parliament by Yuan Shih-kai, then the President of China. When Yuan Shih-kai contemplated establishing an empire in 1916, the Kuomintang openly revolted and frustrated the scheme. When President Li Yuan-hung dissolved the Parliament in 1917, the Kuomintang members went to Canton and established a government of their own with the support of seven southern provinces. In 1920 this government was divided into three groups, Canton, Shanghai and Yunnan. But in 1921 they all reunited and elected Sun Yat-sen President of the Southern Republic of China. Before long, however, Dr. Sun was ousted by Chen Chiung-ming, tuchun of

Kwangtung Province. The friction came when Dr. Sun opposed Chen's movement for extended local autonomy. He returned to Canton when Chen Chiung-ming was overthrown but it did not take much time to convince him to leave Canton again. Ever since he was busy coming and going until he died on March 12, 1925.

Hitherto, the membership of the Kuomintang was limited to a small number of intellectuals. But Dr. Sun, after his expulsion from Canton, began to recruit the students and the common people in the Nationalist Movement. Thus the Kuomintang which was an organization of a few intelligentsia, became a machinery of the whole nation. Today it has about a half million members. Any Chinese, who can read and write, and accept the Three People's Principles, was allowed to become a member at the recommendations of two or more Kuomintang members. At the Third Kuomintang Congress held on March 15—28, 1929, the membership of the party was classified into regular and probational members. Any Chinese of twenty years of age or over, who had one year's training as a probational member can become a regular member.

At the present time the Kuomintang is the only political party in China from the standpoint of western political science. It is the only Chinese political party which has a permanent organization, local

branches, an executive committee, a periodic Congress and above all a principle for which it stands. The Kuomintang Congress meets once in two years. The Third Congress was attended by 459 delegates including three women delegates. Of 459, 151 were nominees of the Nanking Government, 119 endorsed by the government and eighty-nine were independently chosen by the Kuomintang branches. The Congress elects the Central Executive Committee of thirty-six men on whom lies the supreme executive power, not only of the government of the party but also of the government of the nation.

The Triumph of the Kuomintang

Until the spring of 1926 the nationalists controlled only two provinces, Kwangtung and Kwangsi. But by June, 1928, they brought the whole country under their sway, and for the first time since 1913, the country is united under one government.

The marvelous success of the Kuomintang is not much due to military tactics; their secret lies in the moral support of the people. Everywhere they went the people welcomed the Kuomintang as their friend, protector, and savior. Why? Because the nationalist soldiers did not loot the towns. They did not drive the people into consternation. They gave them, on the contrary, order, peace, and protection, and because they struggled for the national aspirations

and yearned for freedom, equality, justice and fair-dealing.

The students and workers all gave the nationalists, not only moral, but also material support. They organized labor unions in advance and prepared for a public demonstration. As soon as the Kuomintang army approached to clash with the northern army, all the people led by students and labor unions, suddenly revolted against the northerners. In this way, without much clash of arms, the nationalists won victory after victory. Here lies the real contribution of Soviet Russia, in that she taught the students and workers to organize such unions and to strike at the critical moment.

The Campaign of 1926-27. During his lifetime, Dr. Sun Yat-sen organized on several occasions the so-called punitive expedition against Peking. But he hardly succeeded in sending the expeditionary forces over the city walls of Canton. It was only after his death that the nationalists won the nation-wide victory over the northern military tuchuns.

The new nationalist campaign began in the spring of 1926 under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, son of a wine merchant in Chekiang, once principal of Whampoa Military Academy, and then the commander-in-chief of the Nationalist army. In a little over a month the Nationalist army reached the Yangtze River. In a little over two months they

overtook Wuchang and drove Wu Pei-fu out of Hupeh Province. Within four months they set up a central China administration at Wuchang in formal opposition to the Peking regime. Then they had a nice long rest in the winter of 1926-27 following the regular course of the Chinese civil war—rest in cold weather and fight in mild temperature. In the summer of 1927, they crossed the Yangtze River and reached Shantung Province where they were driven back. The failure was due to three major factors: the split between the radicals and moderates of the Kuomintang, the failure of General Feng Yu-hsiang, the so-called Christian general to co-operate with Chiang Kai-shek, and the refusal of the Japanese to allow the Nationalist army a passage through Shantung.

After the retreat, Chiang Kai-shek resigned his post as commander-in-chief of the Nationalist army in August and retired to a deserted Buddhist temple perched on the top of a wooded hill in a small village Chiko, in his native province of Chekiang. Later he visited Japan and then in December, 1927, he married Miss Sung Mei-ling, sister-in-law of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Shortly after his marriage he resumed, in a good fighting mood, the chief executive position in the Kuomintang Government.

The Communist Coup d'Etat. The greatest single factor attributed to the failure of the 1927 cam-

paign was the split between the radicals and the moderates within the Kuomintang.

The Chinese communist party was organized in 1920 but it worked under such a secrecy that no one knew whether there was a communist party in China until the members of the party sought their admission into the Kuomintang. With the approval of the Kuomintang National Congress in January, 1924, Dr. Sun Yat-sen admitted the communist members on the condition that they accept the Kuomintang principles and policies. The communist element formed a small minority in the Kuomintang and there seemed to be no disagreement between the newcomers and the original members. They, however, gradually began to outplay the orthodox Kuomintang members. Michael Borodin, the Soviet High Adviser to the Kuomintang, and Eugene Chen, the English-Chinaman, representing the radical wing of the Kuomintang, most of whom were communists, planned not only to dominate but to eliminate the moderates, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, C. C. Wu and others. While Chiang Kai-shek was busily engaged in the war the communists at Hankow secretly plotted a coup d'état right in the battlefield where Chiang was commanding. The Nanking affair of March 24, 1927, was one of the plots of the radicals. The troops of Cheng Chien, a subordinate general of Chiang Kai-shek, who was sympathetic with

the communists, entered Nanking first and looted and murdered the foreigners for the purpose of embroiling Chiang Kai-shek with the foreign powers. The same communist plot was planned in Shanghai but there Chiang Kai-shek handled the situation by mobilizing the white laborers who shot and trapped the Red labor unionists. The foreigners at first were ignorant of the hidden conflict between the radicals and the moderates until months later when the radicals were all eliminated by Chiang Kai-shek.

Immediately after the Nanking affair, the Kuomintang Executive Committee met at Nanking on April 15, 1927, and set up an independent government at Nanking in opposition to the Hankow Government of the communists, and determined to purify the party of Red elements. With the co-operation of Feng Yu-hsiang, the so-called Christian general, Chiang Kai-shek succeeded in the war against the radicals. Michael Borodin and Eugene Chen disappeared from Hankow in July, 1927, and the radical government at Hankow was overthrown by the Nanking Government on November 12th.

In Canton the radicals, leading the communist labor peasants, took over the city on December 11, 1927, and ousted the officers of the Nanking moderates. The coup d'état took place in the absence of the Kuomintang army which was sent to Kwangsi where the peasants had seized seven towns. On De-

cember 13th, Chang Pak-wei, the commander of the official army in Canton retook the city. It was reported that nearly 4000 were killed in the battle.

The coup d'état was believed to be stirred up by the Russian Bolshevik agitators. One proof that Russia actually had a hand in the Canton revolt is derived from a speech made by Nicholas Bukharin, President of the Third International, which is reported by Pravda, the official organ of the Russian communist party:

"Revolution in China is progressing satisfactorily. The Chinese Movement is assuming wider and wider proportions. The ferment has spread over a number of provinces, while in many districts of the Kwangtung province—in which Canton is situated—the peasants have united in Soviets and taken control in their hands. It is the first time in history that the Chinese peasants have created that kind of government, and they are waging a real war against landowners. They have chopped from 300 to 400 heads off the land-owners' bodies. (Applause of the members of the Third International and cries: 'That's not enough. Let them chop off more!')"

Immediately after the incident the Nanking Government severed all relations with the Soviet Government and pursued a drastic measure to purge China of Red influence. Many hundreds of the Russians were ordered to leave China. Nearly 2200 communists including nineteen Russians and fourteen

bobbed haired girls—bobbed hair being considered a sign of Bolshevism, were executed. M. Hassis, the Soviet Vice-Consul in Canton also was reported to have been executed. On January 21, 1928, thirty more were executed in Hankow as plotters of new communist revolt. Thus the Nanking moderates eliminated the radical elements from the party, temporarily at least. Having eliminated the Red elements, having established peace and order in the Kuomintang territory, the nationalists, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, resumed their northward drive in the spring of 1928.

The Triumvirate Campaign of 1928. The formation of the unexpected triumvirate by Chiang Kai-shek, Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan in the spring of 1928 assured the nationalist victory. Feng Yu-hsiang, the so-called Christian general, master of Northwest China and one of the strongest generals whose ambition to be a sole dictator of China is no less than that of Napoleon Bonaparte, joined Chiang Kai-shek with his entire force against Chang Tso-lin, the dictator of Peking Government. Yen Hsi-shan, the model governor of Shansi Province, the only sensible tuchun in China, who hitherto had devoted his undivided attention to internal development by refusing to take any part in the civil strife, joined Feng Yu-hsiang, with whom he began to fight against Chang Tso-lin in September, 1927. These

three great men, Chiang from the south, Feng and Yen from the northwest, all moved toward Peking. Chang Tso-lin was doomed to fail.

The northward campaign of Chiang Kai-shek was greatly hindered by the Japanese intervention in Shantung. The nationalist victory would be detrimental to Japanese interests in Manchuria and in other parts of China and the attitude of the Japanese Government toward the nationalist had been very unfriendly. In the summer of 1927 when the nationalist troops reached Shantung, the Japanese intervened in the name of the protection of the lives and properties of the Japanese subjects. Consequently, the nationalists retreated from Shantung. In the campaign of 1928, the Japanese employed the same tactics. As the nationalists were approaching Shantung on their northward drive against Chang Tso-lin, the Japanese appeared on the way with a chip on their shoulder. Unfortunately the Chinese soldiers under General Chiang Kai-shek knocked the chip off and a state of war ensued between the Japanese and the Chinese in Tsinan from May 3rd to 4th and again from May 9th to 11th. Chiang Kai-shek, with his utmost caution and patience, refused to fight the Japanese and proceeded toward Peking.

While the united forces of the triumvirate were yet a hundred miles away, Chang Tso-lin, the dictator of the Peking Government, evacuated Peking

on June 3rd and left for Mukden. On June 5th, the troops of Yen Hsi-shan, one of the triumvirs, entered Peking. The occupation was carried out with little confusion or disturbance. Thus by June, 1928, the whole country except Manchuria was under the nationalist sway. In Manchuria, Chang Hsueh-liang, who succeeded his father Chang Tso-lin, indicated that he would join with the nationalists, retaining a large measure of domestic control over the three Manchurian provinces, but surrendering matters of foreign policy entirely to the nationalists. Here again the Japanese thrust themselves into Chinese affairs and warned Chang Hsueh-liang through Baron Hayashi, Premier Tanaka's representative at Mukden, not to unite with the nationalists. Despite the Japanese warning, however, Chang accepted membership in the State Council of the Nationalist Government in October, 1928, and since November he flies the nationalist flag.

The Government of the Kuomintang

After the occupation of Peking, the nationalists changed the capital of China from Peking (northern capital) to Nanking (southern capital) and altered the name of Peking to Peiping (northern peace). Nanking is the old capital of the Ming Dynasty which ended in 1644 when the Manchus became the ruling dynasty of China. The old Ming palace was

leveled to the ground and no new public buildings have been erected there. But Nanking is more centrally located than Peking. Moreover, by moving their capital to Nanking, they can get rid of the hideous foreign legation quarter at Peking, the armed citadel of foreign imperialism.

Until 1924, Dr. Sun Yat-sen never dreamed of adopting the Soviet system of government. He rather favored the western system of government, particularly the American system. His party was modeled on the American political parties. His government was based on the American Government, and his constitution resembled the American constitution. In 1923 he sent a mission to Canada and the United States to recruit the World War veterans for the purpose of reorganizing the army, and that mission returned without success. He then sought the co-operation of the British, who "turned a cold shoulder" to his advances.

Finally, Dr. Sun approached Karakhan, the Soviet representative at Peking, who sent Michael Borodin to be his adviser. Acting on the suggestions of Mr. Borodin, Dr. Sun showed his interest in the Soviet system of government. Consequently, the nationalists adopted the Soviet committee system of government while rejecting the principles of communism.

However, on the eve of reorganizing the government, in October, 1928, the committee system was

discarded and was replaced by the five Yuans, or boards.

The organization of the present Chinese Government is as follows: the Kuomintang National Congress, which meets periodically, elects the Central Executive Council of the party, the chairman of the Central Executive Council becoming *ex officio* President of the Republic of China. The Central Executive Council chooses the State Council, consisting of from twelve to sixteen members, and the State Council in turn appoints the heads of five boards: (1) Executive, (2) Legislative, (3) Judicial, (4) Civil Service Examinations, and (5) Censorate, or Supervisory. Under the Executive Board, there are ten ministers: Foreign Affairs, Finance, War, Agriculture, Industry, Education, Railways, Interior, Communications, and Health.

On October 9, 1928, Chiang Kai-shek was elected President of China, not by the people, or by a parliament, but by the Central Executive Council of the Kuomintang. The presidents of the five Yuans, who are appointed by the State Council, are as follows: Tan Yen-Kai, Executive Yuan; Hu Han-min, Legislative Yuan; Wang Chung-hui, Judicial Yuan; Tai Chi-tao, Examination Yuan; and Chang Chin-Chiang, Supervisory Yuan. The ten ministers, who are also appointed by the State Council, are: C. T. Wang, Foreign Affairs; T. V. Soong, Finance; Feng Yu-

hsiang, War; Yi Pei-chi, Agriculture; H. H. Kung, Industry; Chiang Meng-ling, Education; Sun Fo, Railways; Yen Hsi-shan, Interior; Wang Po-chun, Communications; and Hsueh Tu-pi, Health.

The most important of the sixteen members of the State Council are Chiang Kai-shek, the presidents of the five Yuans, and Sun-Fo, Chang Hseuh-liang, Feng Yu-hsiang, and Yen Hsi-shan.

The Chinese Republic is not a republic in the usually accepted sense of the word. There is no parliament, and no constitution. The Organic Law of the Nationalist Government, promulgated on October 30, will serve as a basic principle for the government until a permanent constitution is adopted. Chinese statesmen consider the present period as a period of political tutelage, in which a political party must dictate to the people, and pave the way for the eventual establishment of a constitutional government. China is under the dictatorship of the Nationalist Party as is Russia under the Communist Party.

PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES OF KUOMINTANG

The "Will" of Sun Yat-sen. The "will" of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, which was dictated from his death bed in the Rockefeller Hospital in Peking, forms the principles and policies of the Kuomintang. The document

is read as religiously as the Apostles' Creed, and is as follows:

"For forty years, I devoted my life to the revolutionary cause in an attempt to elevate China to a state of freedom and independence. My experience of these eventful years has absolutely convinced me that to attain this cherished goal we must enlist the support of the great mass of the people at home and work in co-operation with those nations which treat us on the basis of equality.

"The revolutionary movement has not as yet succeeded, and it is therefore imperative that all my fellow-workers should do their utmost in order to realize my 'National Reconstruction Program,' 'Outlines of Reconstructive Policies,' 'The Three Principles of the People,' and the policies enunciated in the Manifesto of the Kuomintang at the first national convention.

"Fight on, my fellow-workers, with renewed vigor to bring about a People's Convention for the solution of our national problems and to abolish the unequal treaties with foreign nations. These things must be done in the shortest time possible."

Of the four documents mentioned in the "Will" the National Reconstruction Program, Outline of Reconstructive Policies, the Three People's Principles, and the Manifest of the Kuomintang at the first national convention — the first two deal with the policies and programs of the Kuomintang and

the last two deal with the principles of the Kuomintang.

The Three People's Principles. 1. Min-tsu or the People's Nationalism. Min-tsu seeks to unify all the five different races of the Chinese people on the basis of equality. It seeks the freedom and independence of China from foreign exploitation. It corresponds to the Doctrine of Nationality in Europe which liberated Italy and regenerated Germany. 2. Min-chuan or The People's Democracy. Dr. Sun believed that the sovereignty should be vested in the people, and that the people should gradually have the vote, initiative, referendum and recall. The people's government is characterized as a "Five Power Government." Besides the division of the powers of the government into three branches of Legislative, Executive and Judicial, Dr. Sun added two others—the Censorate and Public Examination. Under the imperial system of government the Board of Censors, which was comprised of fifty-six members independent of the Emperor, performed the most important functions of the government. The duties of the board were to point out mistakes and criticize the faults not only of the public officials but of the Emperor himself. The Board of Public Examination was a very important branch, and its duty was to choose the men best fitted for public service. In theory, the examination was carried out free from outside influ-

ences. These two branches of the imperial government, Dr. Sun preserved and added to the three other divisions of the new government. 3. Min-sen or The People's Livelihood. In this, besides providing for the improvement of the economic welfare of the people in general, Dr. Sun emphasized two specific items—(a) That the land should be prevented from being monopolized by a few, and (b) that enterprises which are monopolistic in character or which are vital to the economic life of the people should be taken over by the state. It is on this last point that the outsiders charge the Kuomintang with being Bolsheviks.

Undoubtedly, Dr. Sun stood for a small degree of socialism. But there is no suggestion in his policy of the abolition of private property or waging a war against the capitalists, for there is no exploiting class in China against whom the war can be waged. Instead of encouraging class war, he denounced it as a disease rather than a cure. Instead of accepting the theory of Carl Marx, Dr. Sun branded him as a social pathologist rather than a social physiologist. There is no ground in charging Dr. Sun and the nationalists with being Bolsheviks. They are neither Red nor "pinkish."

The Manifest of the Kuomintang. The first national convention of the Kuomintang was held in Canton in January, 1924. The convention formally

accepted Dr. Sun's Three People's Principles as the Principle of the Kuomintang. The manifest of the convention, however, changed the color and the meaning of the San Min Chu I or the Three People's Principle and made it much more radical than Dr. Sun had ever advocated. His nationalism was interpreted as to imply a strong anti-imperialist campaign. His democracy was pared down so as to exclude from the franchise those who sell their services to the imperialists and militarists. His socialism or livelihood was broadened to include farmer's subsidy and labor legislation, and the organized workers and peasants were recognized as having more latent power than any other class in the whole nationalist movement.

Policies and Programs of Kuomintang. In the National Reconstruction Program, Dr. Sun laid down the principles of Chinese internal development outlined in twenty-five articles. In article five, he divided the process of national reconstruction into three stages: the military stage, the tutelage, and the constitutional stage. At the military stage of conquest, the militarists must assume a full control of the government in view of effectively carrying out a policy of national unification. At the tutelage stage, the people must train themselves for self-government and meantime a political party must assume a dictatorship in behalf of the people. After a long process

of popular education the people will be led into the final, or constitutional stage.

In the Outline of Reconstruction Policies, Dr. Sun endorsed the use of foreign capital, experts and machinery to build 100,000 miles of railways and 1,000,000 miles of roads and improve canals, rivers and harbors. He strongly advocated the development of water power, mineral wealth, agriculture, irrigation, forestry and colonization.

Besides the writings of Dr. Sun, the Kuomintang Congress from time to time passed resolutions concerning internal developments and foreign relations. At the extraordinary session of the Congress which met in Canton on October 15th to 28th, 1926, the Kuomintang passed the following resolutions: Abolition of unequal treaties; customs autonomy; abolition of Likin, or internal transit tax; railway and harbor construction; compulsory education; government registration of mission schools; local self-government; a demarkation of civil and military authorities in the provinces so as to make the military officers subordinate to the civil officers excepting in time of war; suppression of banditry; suppression of opium smoking; abolition of early marriage; and equal rights for women in law, politics, education and economics. Although there were held several other conferences since October, 1926, including the Fifth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang held on

August 8th to 16th, 1928 and the Third Kuomintang Congress held on March 15th to 28th, 1929, no outstanding changes have been made in regard to the principles and policies of the party.

The Ordeal of the Nationalist Government

Since the elimination of Chang Tso-lin, the dictator of Peking Government, in June, 1928, by the nationalists, the country was unified under one flag. The statesmen of the nationalist China then forgot their differences and concentrated their minds in the making of a new China. All kinds of reconstruction and reorganization conferences were held one after another. The voice of the people unanimously praised the new regime. The governments of the leading powers of the world were also very kindly disposed toward the Chinese struggle. It seemed for a time that the nationalists would perform a great miracle in shaping the destiny of their country in the eyes of the world. Everything went on well until February and March, 1929 when new troubles arose to test the strength of the Nationalist Government. The return of Chang Tsung-chang to Shantung, the activities of the reactionary factions in Wuhan and Canton, and the Red upheaval in Kiangsi, threatened China with a new civil war. The sensational foreign press and the die-hard foreigners joined in the cho-

rus, "I told you so," and began to discredit the Nationalist Movement in China. Before going further, it is necessary to discuss the new break-up in detail.

In September, 1928, three months after the elimination of Chang Tso-lin, Chang Tsung-chang, ex-bandit tuchun of Shantung, who supported Chang Tso-lin against the nationalists, was finally driven out of Shantung. Chang Tsung-chang left Shantung and settled down in the Japanese city of Dairen with his thirty-five wives, including Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Russians and Mongolians, and $10,000,000 robbed from the people. On February 19, 1929, Chang chartered a Japanese steamer, Hawata Maru, and with his body-guard of 250 men and ammunition, sailed from "Hoshigaura" or Star Beach, near Dairen, for Shantung. He landed at Tengchowfu, a point on Shantung peninsula which is fenced off from the rest of China by an expeditionary force of Japanese marines. Gradually he recruited some 40,000 men and took the city of Chefoo on March 28. It was feared that Chang's activities would revive a civil war in the country at large. It was reported on April 22, however, that Chang's forces were badly defeated at Ninghaichow by the nationalist troops under the command of Liu Chennien. In May, he was defeated by the nationalists and fled to Japan.

The Chinese alleged that the return of Chang

Tsung-chang was wholly due to the Japanese intrigue. But Premier Tanaka denied the charge by saying "These rumors are absolutely without the least foundation."

Far more ominous than the return of Chang Tsung-chang, was the revolt of the reactionary faction at Wuhan, the seat of unrest and turbulence; it was a revolt against the centralization of powers by the Nationalist Government. Under the imperial regime, the provinces were autonomous units of the Empire. Under the Pekinese rule, the provinces were more or less like the American states under the Articles of Confederation, each being almost independent of the central government. But since the summer of 1928, the nationalists sought to centralize the powers of the state in the National Government in every way possible. It was decided at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang in August, 1928, that the Branch Political Council cannot, in the name of the Council, appoint or dismiss any official of the provincial governments, thus curtailing the political power of the provincial organs. Sun Fo, Minister of Railways, has made efforts to bring all government railways under his department. T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance, has endeavored to increase the national revenue. The Disbandment Conference held January 3-25, 1929, adopted a plan to reduce the troops now numbering 1,600,000 to 715,000 men and

to centralize all troops and military budgets under the Nanking Government. The root of the trouble lay in the refusal of the Kiangsi-Hankow faction to obey the command of the National Government at Nanking.

In direct violation of the decisions made at the Fifty Plenary Session, the Wuhan branch of the Political Council headed by the Kiangsi-Hankow faction including General Li Tsung-fen, Ho Chien, Yih Chi, Hsia We, Pei Tsung-hsi, and others, drove out General Lu Ti-ping, the appointee of the National Government as head of the Province of Hunan. The Hankow faction also refused to disband the surplus troops and organize them in a centralized and unified force subject to the orders of the central authorities. On the contrary, the Kiangsi-Hankow faction with the support of the discontented Canton faction headed by Li Chi-sen, recruited about 100,000 men in defiance of the Nanking Government. A new civil war was inevitable. It was under such circumstances that President Chiang Kai-shek made a strong declaration at the Third Kuomintang Congress, denouncing the action of the Kiangsi faction. His declaration corresponded to the utterances of President Jackson and President Lincoln against the exponents of the doctrine of nullification and of secession.

The Third Kuomintang Congress passed a sweeping resolution on March 27, granting power to the Nanking Government "to do what it sees fit if the Wuhan generals continue to disregard the orders of the National Government." Early in April, Chiang Kai-shek mobilized 100,000 men against the Kiangsi faction. Meantime, Feng Yu-hsiang, who was believed to support the rebels, cast his might on the Nanking side and moved his troops toward Hankow. When Chiang Kai-shek's troops arrived at Hankow, the Kiangsi soldiers refused to fight and fled pell-mell without encountering the government forces. Thus the ominous civil war temporarily came to an end to the great disappointment of die-hard foreigners who are eager to sing the chorus "I told you so," and to the newspapermen who are anxious to excite the public with sensational war stories.

No sooner had Chiang Kai-shek returned from the Hankow expedition than came a new challenge. It came from the most powerful, most feared and most suspected militarist, Feng Yu-hsiang, the so-called Christian general. That challenge was the most fearful one the Nationalist Government had yet faced. If General Feng mobilized his 200,000 soldiers against the young and inexperienced Nanking Government, the whole country would have been flung back to turmoil and unrest.

Feng Yu-hsiang helped the nationalists on several

occasions and he was made Minister of War of the Nanking Government. But no one knew what he would do next. As a subordinate officer, he betrayed all his superiors, Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin. Would he not betray Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist Government? "Watch Feng" was a watchword of warning and "As faithless as Feng" became a metaphor among his enemies. It was feared that sooner or later, Feng might stage a new war drama to materialize his long cherished ambition—to be a dictator, a Napoleon, a Mussolini of China.

Before long an opportunity presented itself to Feng. Early in May, 1929, the reactionaries in South China threatened to capture Canton. Nanking was busy preparing to suppress the rebels. At first Feng pursued a policy of watchful waiting but he suddenly changed attitude when the capture of Canton by the reactionaries was reported. The news was false but Feng believed it to be true. He wasted no time in opening hostilities. He declared the Nanking Government an illegal government. He accused Chiang of embezzling public funds and of neglecting to better the conditions of the working people. He demanded the resignation of Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Soong and others, whom Feng branded as a "Soong Dynasty," and mobilized his mighty army against the Nanking Government.

On May 23, the Central Executive Committee of

the Nationalist Party dismissed Feng from all offices and from the party for life, and authorized the Nanking Government to prepare a punitive expedition against Feng. On May 25, the Nanking Government issued a statement accompanied by documents purporting to be communications between Feng and Moscow, plotting to oust the Nanking Government. It looked as if the whole country were going to plunge into a new civil war.

But Chiang Kai-shek touched a magic key which caused the betrayal of Feng by several of his most important subordinate commanders. That put Feng into an embarrassing position. He saw little chance of success against Chiang, who was then mustering 250,000 men. Feng laid down his arms and opened a peace parley. Consequently, the Nanking Government paid Feng $3,100,000; $3,000,000 for the salary of his unpaid soldiers and $100,000 for his traveling expenses. He was ordered to leave for Europe as a special investigator of foreign economic affairs for the Nationalist Government.

This is another of the polite Chinese ways of sending a man into exile without using that obnoxious word. Thus disappeared one of the greatest Chinese militarists from domestic politics. It is of great regret that such a man should retire at the moment when China needs all the capable men and women for the building up of a new nation. But it

seems that China will be better off if that renowned Christian general changes his uniform into a priest's robe, or remains abroad permanently, or goes up to heaven once for all.

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CHAPTER IV

The Chinese Renaissance

Educational Reform

IN order to be a statesman in the old China, one did not have to study government politics and other social science. All he had to learn was the old classics and the Chinese ideographs. They believed that all there was worthy of learning were the classics and nothing more. The civil service examination was exclusively based on the classics and the composition of the eight-legged essays. The military generals, too, instead of studying the science of war, learned how to compose a poem and recite the classics. "The pen is mightier than the sword" was truly the case in China.

Since the opening of the country to foreign nations, China constantly felt the weakness of the old educational system. But it was not until after the Sino-Japanese war of 1894 when China was defeated by that little island kingdom which had just learned the western science that the Chinese statesmen determined to reform their system of learning. Hitherto China had no public schools, and education was a private affair. But during the "Hundred Days"

reform movement in 1898, Emperor Kuang Hsu issued an educational reform edict authorizing the establishment of modern public schools for western learning. In 1901, the Empress Dowager issued a new edict authorizing the building of public elementary schools in villages and towns, middle schools in prefectures, and colleges and universities at provincial capitals. The old civil service examination was abolished in 1905 and the examination halls were converted into modern school rooms. Under the republic which came into being in 1911 the government lay great emphasis on public education, especially modern scientific teaching. The nationalists stand for compulsory education of the people.

The Present Public School System

Between 1902 and 1922, China tried five different public school systems: Japanese, German, French, English, and American. The new system adopted in November 1922 is neither Japanese nor American; it is essentially Chinese. It provides six years of primary education, six years of secondary education and four or six years of college training. The six year elementary school course is divided into four year lower primary and two year higher primary. The four year lower primary course is compulsory. Those who wish to go to the middle school must finish the higher primary after finishing the lower.

The six year high school, or middle school is divided into junior and senior middle schools, each having a period of three years. Those who will enter the college must finish both the junior and senior middle schools. Thus a four year college graduate in China will have spent a total of sixteen years in schooling, which is equivalent to the number of years spent by an American college graduate.

There are about 7,000,000 pupils in the elementary schools, 150,000 in the middle schools, and 30,000 in the colleges and universities. There are thirty national universities, forty-eight provincial universities, twenty-seven private colleges and eighteen missionary universities and colleges. This, of course, does not mean that China has many students. For China to have as many students as has the United States, in proportion to the population, there must be 80,000,000 students enrolled in Chinese schools.

The courses of study in these modern schools in China are practically the same as in the western schools, except the Chinese language, history and literature. They teach mathematics, geometry, algebra, physics, chemistry, engineering, sociology, economics and political science, physical culture, etc. The Chinese students are taking these new courses remarkably well. One of the difficulties, however, was that the Chinese pupils, who are used to learn-

ing the classics by rote, tried to learn physics and geometry and mathematics also by rote.

Of all the modern courses, what the Chinese are emphasizing most is industrial education. The old Chinese scholars had a contempt for industrial work and for manual labor, generally. Perhaps this is one reason why the Chinese industry is so backward today. They cherished great pride in wearing long finger nails, sometimes three or four inches long, a sign that they are not engaged in manual labor. At first the students dreaded to sacrifice their finger nails and learn the science of industry. But this is long since changed. The new scholars take it as a great honor and glory to put on an overall and turn the wheels of industry. Some day these students may convert poor, undeveloped, bankrupt China into an industrial world power.

The western sports, too, are gaining rapidly among the Chinese students. The Chinese at first were shocked at the unscholarly, undignified conduct of the foreign teachers who played tennis by running back and forth like little gamins of the street. One of the Chinese questioned thus: "Why can't you afford to hire coolies to do that for you?" This is an old story. Today the Chinese play all kinds of western sports with skill and charm. They play tennis, baseball, basket-ball, football and the like. In football, they play the soccer game in which

the ball, not the man, is kicked and flattened, but they do not play the American football because they are not sanguinary enough for that. Although they have imported practically all the western sports, they have not yet learned the American college sport, usually played on the green freshman, which is called "snipe-hunting."

There was no military drill in the school either. But Chiang Kai-shek, the nationalist leader, announced on August 27, 1928, that compulsory military training will be introduced into the universities and colleges and middle schools, and boy scouts will be organized in the elementary schools.

In spite of the fact that the young people show their zeal and enthusiasm in western sports the common people are indifferent to athletics when compared with the American people. America is the only country under the sun where a prize fighter and the President of the Nation have equal reputation. Almost never in China is the front page of a newspaper wasted by sport news.

The Boxer Indemnity

The greatest contribution made by any one foreign nation or agent toward the development of the Chinese education was the Boxer Indemnity. In 1908, the United States returned a part of her indemnity, amounting to $10,785,286, to China. It

was spent for the establishment of Tsing Hua College in Peking and the maintenance of a large number of scholarships for Chinese students in American colleges and universities. From seventy to eighty scholarship students are sent every year for a period of five years. Again in 1924 the United States Congress passed a resolution authorizing the President to remit to China the remainder of the American portion of the Boxer Indemnity, amounting to over $6,000,000. It has been used for the establishment of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture. The funds entrusted to the Foundation are devoted to scientific experimentation, and creating professorships in various universities, subsidizing schools for better laboratory equipment, the building of a library at Peking and the operation of the China Institute in America, the aim of which is to promote closer educational and cultural relations between China and America. The returning of the indemnity undoubtedly strengthened the friendship between the two sister republics. Seeing the great moral victory won by the United States through the use of the fund, Japan and England, too, are following suit.

The Question of the Mission Schools

There are about 300,000 Chinese pupils in the Protestant mission schools and about 260,000 in

the Catholic mission schools. Besides, there are eighteen colleges and universities operated by the missionaries. The influence of Christian education on the development of Chinese democracy and the Nationalist Movement can hardly be overestimated. The fact that nearly fifty per cent of the nationalist leaders received a part of their education in these schools, is a great tribute to the missionaries. Both the old Peking Government and the new Nanking Government, however, sought to regulate the mission schools because they felt that the missionaries make foreigners out of the Chinese. The charge that the missionaries are denationizing the Chinese students cannot be accepted without reservation. The past experience has been that the graduates of Christian schools are usually stronger nationalists than the graduates of public schools. Nevertheless it is a fact that in some American or English missionary schools, foreign language, literature and history are taught every day but no Chinese language or history is given. In some mission schools Biblical literature alone is extolled, condemning modern science, Chinese religion and culture.

The Nationalist Government regulation of the mission schools is as follows:

1. Government curriculum standards are required.

2. The school must submit to government inspection.
3. The school must be managed by a board of directors, of which the majority shall be Chinese.
4. The school must employ a Chinese president and only such foreign staff as the directors shall request.
5. No compulsory religious instruction.
6. Every Monday morning there must be held the usual ceremoney in commemoration of Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the republic.

What the Nationalist Government is trying to do now is what the Japanese Government did long ago concerning the mission schools in Korea and what the Siamese did in their country. Mr. Jacob Gould Schurman, the former United States Minister to China, stated on the eve of his return to America in 1925 that as the United States would not allow foreign schools, which obviously inject political and other propaganda, to remain outside its authority so the Chinese Government would not long leave the foreign schools unregulated. Those who resent the nationalist regulation of the mission schools had better consult with Big Bill Thompson of Chicago.

The Chinese Renaissance

As the result of the importation of western

thoughts and ideals and the introduction of new school systems both public and missionary, came the renaissance movement in 1917 when Dr. Hu Shih, graduate of Columbia University, Professor of Comparative English Literature at Peking Government University, began to advocate his idea of substituting spoken language for written language as a medium of literature. Between the written language and the spoken language there was as much difference as between Latin and English.

Dr. Hu Shih's idea is not entirely new in China. From the twelfth century to the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. every branch of Chinese literature was written in spoken language. Under the Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644 A.D., a strict form of literary composition after the old model which prevailed during the Pre-Han period (25 A.D.), was fixed by imperial decree. The Manchus conquered the Mings in 1644 but they could not conquer the Ming literature. They were, on the contrary, completely absorbed by the Ming culture, philosophy and literature.

The new movement started by Dr. Hu Shih spread throughout the country like wild fire. At present, nearly all the newspapers and periodicals are published in Pai Hua, or plain language. The change has enabled the students to learn how to read and write much easier than before.

The indirect results of the literary revolution can hardly be overestimated. Mr. P. W. Kuo, Director of the China Institute in America, summarizes the results as follows:

"The classic ethics is re-evaluated; unorthodox writings of the past are re-examined; great writers of the west are translated and discussed; new forms of poetry are composed; existing social institutions are freely debated. In a word, nothing is either too old or too new to pass without a critical examination."

The Mass Education Movement

China is a republic but nearly ninety-five per cent of the people cannot read or write. The literary revolution started by Dr. Hu Shih simplified the style of writing but did not simplify the Chinese ideographs numbering 60,000 and it did not solve the question of mass education. Two movements started for popular education: Yen's Thousand Character and the introduction of phonetic scripts. Before we proceed with these movements, let us first examine the puzzle of Chinese characters.

The Puzzle of Chinese Ideographs. The chief cause of illiteracy in China is the difficulty of mastering the characters. According to history the Chinese ideographs were invented by Tsang Chieh in the twenty-eighth century B.C. by imitating the footprints of birds. Perhaps that may be the reason why

the Chinese characters look like chicken tracks. Before the invention of the characters, "knotted cords" were used. The brush pen was introduced in the second century B.C. Paper was made in 89–105 A.D. Before the invention of paper, bamboo leaves and the bark of trees were used.

At first the characters were very much like the objects which they represented. For example, a man was drawn like a man and a tree like a tree. But gradually the characters were transformed into symbols. For example, two strokes arranged like a man's leg signifies a man. By combining these symbols, new characters are made. For example, by combining two women is made the word for quarrel and by combining three women the word for gossip. Some characters have as many as thirty-five strokes. It is not very bad when compared with a German word which is spelled by seventy-five letters. There must be as many symbols as there are objects and ideas. Consequently, there are over 60,000 characters which would take a man from ten to fifty years to master. It is no wonder then that the percentage of illiteracy is so great in China. With the characters no typewriter or a linotype can be made; the keyboard will cover the whole floor without leaving any room for an operator to work on. And the characters must be picked from the shelf by hand. To publish a four-page newspaper the typesetter would have

walked about three miles. There are about 450 daily newspapers and 1,200 periodicals now published in China.

Yen's Thousand Character Movement. As early as 1912 there was an abortive movement to select 3,000 most commonly used characters for popular education. But nothing was achieved until 1922 when Y. C. James Yen started to educate the illiterate masses. James Yen, or "Jimmy Yen" as called by his friends, is a graduate of Yale University and Princeton University, and is a Christian by religion. I mean the kind of a typical Chinese Christian with a twist of meaning in the back of his mind. During the war he was recruited by the Y. M. C. A. to work among the Chinese laborers in France. Yen found most of his fellow-countrymen could neither read nor write. He began to teach them some common Chinese characters. After his return to China he selected 1,000 most frequently used characters out of the 60,000 and experimented first in Changsha, Hunan, then in twenty-six other large cities where the Y. M. C. A.'s gave their utmost support and co-operation. Now the movement is universal in China.

By mastering the 1,000 characters one can read the very ordinary newspapers and other literatures printed in those characters. A student can master those characters at a cost of ninety-six hours' time,

and five cents for the text. The work is carried out by voluntary contribution and the cost of graduating a student is about fifty cents. It is estimated that this Mass Education Movement is wiping out the Chinese illiteracy at the rate of a million a year. It is by no means a decent education but is much better than leaving the teeming millions entirely illiterate.

The Chinese Alphabet. Chinese had 60,000 characters but they had no alphabet. Owing to the difficulties of mastering the Chinese symbols, a movement to adopt a phonetic alphabet was begun before Yen's Mass Education Movement. The government appointed a committee on the Standardization of the Sounds of the National Language in 1912. After a thorough investigation of all the dialects in different parts of the country, the committee drew out an alphabet of thirty-nine letters, later forty letters. The scripts were sanctioned by the Ministry of Education in 1918 and they were taught in schools. With the alphabet a Chinese could learn how to read within a month which they could not in less than ten years with the characters.

Had China had a unified language, the adoption of the alphabet would have a decided advantage over the 1,000 characters. But unfortunately China has three distinct languages and nineteen different dialects and the people cannot easily understand

each other. A Cantonese scholar at a Peking restaurant ordered some mushrooms. The waiter, being a Pekinese could not understand the Cantonese dialect. The scholar wrote out a Chinese character for mushrooms. But the waiter, being illiterate, could not read. Finally the Cantonese drew a picture of a mushroom and the waiter brought him an umbrella.

Another difficulty the alphabet had to face was the tone. In China one sound has as many as five tones, and according to the tones a sound has different meanings. For example, the sound *mow* would mean either *hat* or *cat,* according to the inflection of the tone. If you make a mistake in toning the sound for hat, you will get a cat where you asked for a hat. In the Chinese language it is not so much the correct pronunciation of a word that makes the speaker intelligible as a proper intonation of that word. The alphabet could not solve the problem of intonation.

Partly due to these difficulties which the alphabet had to meet and partly due to the indifference of the people, the movement to popularize the phonetic scripts became negligible. It seems, however, that the 1,000 characters are very inefficient and 60,000 symbols are too many, and the salvation seems to lie in the popularizing of the phonetic scripts.

The Policy of Nationalist China. The aim of nationalist China is to educate the masses of the people—the most undeveloped Chinese resource. It

was decided at the National Educational Conference held at Nanking in May, 1928, that (1) continuation schools be opened in factories and stores having more than forty workmen and employees; (2) special materials and textbooks be prepared for such schools; (3) special lectures be given; (4) emphasis be put on the importance of hygiene and sanitation; (5) proper recreation facilities be provided; (6) family industrial education be encouraged; (7) women's vocational schools be established; (8) and public libraries and newspaper reading rooms be established.

The Student Movement

From time immemorial the Chinese put the scholars at the top and the soldiers at the bottom of Chinese society. The most honored, the most respected, and the most powerful men were, not the horsemen with swords, but the scholars with the brush pen. In 1916, when Yuan Shih-kai attempted to set up a monarchy, Liang Chi-chao, a reputable scholar, frustrated the scheme of that powerful swordsman with the stroke of his brush pen. He dared not to say a word about Yuan Shih-kai but he succeeded in overthrowing Yuan by writing some horrible examples of the rule of the then President Diaz of Mexico. The scholar then, whether he was poor or rich, was the "whole cheese" in the old China. With the tra-

ditional respect the scholars enjoyed in the past, with their new knowledge of world affairs, with the aid and co-operation of the renaissance movement and the mass education movement, the Chinese students in recent days were able to stir the surging masses of the people, now against their own military tuchuns and now against foreign imperialism.

The Youth Movement in China is the same as the youth movement of the rest of the world in that it disregards the past traditions and conventions, but it differs in that the Chinese Youth Movement tends to be nationalistic whereas the youth movement in the western countries tends to be international.

The Chinese student movement began in 1919 near the close of the Versailles Peace Conference when the Province of Shantung was awarded to Japan. In all the history of China, patriotism has never been so dear to the people as in 1919. In May, 1919, the students held anti-Japanese demonstrations in most of the large cities, notably in Peking where 15,000 students from thirty-three colleges and universities stirred up the capital. They attacked the premises of the pro-Japanese minister of the Peking Government. They smashed the windows of the home of Tsao Ju-lin, Minister of Communication. They caught Chang Tsung-hsiang, Minister to Tokyo, and beat him like a dog. They attacked Lu Tsung-yu, Minister of Finance. When 1,000 students were

arrested by the police and locked up in jail, 30,000 students came and asked to be imprisoned with them. There was no room for all of them and they were all released.

The students in most of the cities paraded on the business streets and searched out all Japanese manufactured articles and made bonfires of them. The girl students, who never had enough courage to look a man straight in the face or walk with them on the streets, either joined in the parade with their little feet hardly big enough to support them, or stood in boxes on the street corners and made patriotic speeches. The merchants who would have been ashamed to mix with politics, joined with the students and closed their shops in a protest against the Japanese occupation of Shantung. The rickshaw coolies, too, sympathized with the students movement and refused to pull Japanese passengers. We witnessed at that time two Chinese students, both members of the varsity football team at Peking National University, seated side by side on the steps of the administration building and weeping lustily over the humiliation inflicted upon their country. We saw at the same time the student at Wuchang College who threw himself into the Yangtze River and drowned himself in order to set an example of unselfish devotion to his country.

The student massacre by the foreign police in

Shanghai International Settlement in May, 1925, the Shakee Massacre in June, 1926, the Wanhsien destruction in September, 1926, and the Nanking bombardment in March, 1927—all these incidents gave the students opportunities to be the spokesmen of the people. They championed the cause of China, molded the surging masses and roused a national consciousness in the people which will never be content until China is united within and freed from without.

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CHAPTER V

Industrial Revolution in China

Signs of Industrial Revolution

UNLIKE Mahatma Gandhi, who turns the hand spinning mills to oppose the iron wheels of western industry, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the prophet of New China, advocated the importation of western machinery, experts and capital for the development of Chinese industry. Whether wanted or opposed by the Chinese, western industrialism has already entered China and it is revolutionizing the old outworn economic system.

The old ox carts used in the pioneer days in America were sold to Japan after the building of railways and motor cars. Those ox carts which were used by the Japanese until their adoption of new means of transportation, now run on the narrow, crooked roads of China. The life of those carts will not be very long. Motor trucks and locomotives are running down the ox carts and wheelbarrows, and steam vessels are driving out the old sail junks. In many of the modern cities, sedan chairs and rickshaws are being replaced by motor cars and bicycles; the old

handicraft and trade guilds are being replaced by great modern factories, and labor unions.

The Present Industrial Conditions

Mineral Products. Modern industrialism is, however, very young in China; only about thirty years old, in fact. China must travel far before she can overtake the other great industrial nations of the world.

The mineral resources of China are very rich. Her coal reserve is estimated at 50,000,000,000 tons, and her ore reserve at 700,000,000 tons or twenty-five per cent of that of the United States. Shė possesses adequate reserves of lead, copper, tin, antimony and mercury, and little of sulphur, and petroleum. But she produces at the present time no more than one per cent of world's mineral output.

Industrial Products. In England one out of every four inhabitants is engaged in industry; in Japan one out of every forty; but in China less than one out of a hundred is engaged in industrial work. The estimated number of industrial workers is about four million. There are about 1,500 modern factories and several thousands of semi-modern workshops. The most important industry is the cotton textile industry. The modern textile industry began in 1890 and in 1906 China had fourteen cotton mills with 400,000 spindles. Today China has 117 cotton mills of

which sixty-nine are Chinese, forty-five Japanese, and four British. These mills use 3,569,440 spindles, of which 2,032,816 are Chinese, 1,331,304 Japanese, and 205,320 are British. Then there are about 160 flour mills, 100 match factories and many silk factories, rug factories, cigarette factories and the like.

Railway Industry. China built her first railway in 1876 between Shanghai and Woosung, a distance of ten miles. The people opposed the project for fear that it might disturb the spirit of the earth. The popular opposition was so strong that the government tore up the rails and tipped the engine into the river. New railways were built afterward, but the present situation is far from satisfactory. Although China is one-third larger in area than the United States, she has today only 12,000 miles of railroads compared with America's 250,000 miles. This means China has only three-tenths of a mile for every ten thousand inhabitants, compared with 23.7 miles per ten thousand inhabitants in the United States and 44.4 miles for the same number of people in Canada. Of 12,000 miles of railways, only 2,000 miles are built with Chinese capital.

There are no more than 1,500 miles of modern highways in China. It is true that, under the imperial regime, roads were built for military purpose and communication to connect all the provincial capitals

with the national capital. But in most part, the roads resemble the old Indian trails in America and they are hardly passable even on foot. There are some canals and rivers, but they do not furnish sufficient means of transportation.

Szechuan Province, the Texas of China, produces enough wheat to supply the entire country, but millions starve in its neighboring provinces. The people of Hankow can get cheaper wheat from Chicago than from Szechuan. Shansi coal is sold at $1.50 a ton at the coal pit, but in Shanghai it is $30.00 per ton. Most of the transportation is carried on the backs of coolies or on the backs of little mules or donkeys which are usually no larger than the German police dogs. In order to equal by her present methods the annual tonnage transported in the United States, China would need twice her present population, or 800,000,000 persons and would have to keep them all constantly employed in transport, each person carrying 160 pounds on his back, and making fifteen miles a day for 365 days. China has a huge and very industrious population, but the above figures show clearly why she cannot compete in modern production without modern machines and organization.

Agriculture. Most people think the land in China is so crowded and so occupied that thousands of her people have to live on river boats. But this is far

from the fact. It is true that the coastal provinces are thickly settled and the population in some provinces runs from 500 to 875 per square mile. In those provinces, of course, every square inch of arable land is under cultivation. But in the interior of China there still remain miles and miles of broad tracts of idle lands. According to statistical studies, twenty-nine per cent of the land of China (excluding Tibet) or 700,000,000 acres are available for the cultivation of crops, whereas in the United States, fifty-one per cent of land, or 975,000,000 acres are available for cultivation. Of China's 700,000,000 acres of tillable lands, only twenty-six per cent, or 180,000,000 acres, which form only one-fourth of all the arable lands, are actually under cultivation while in the United States thirty-nine per cent of all the cultivable lands, namely 380,000,000 acres are actually cultivated. This means that China has 520,000,000 acres of idle lands which are available for cultivation, or nearly as much as the idle land of the United States. If all these available lands are cultivated, China will have no more famine and no more population problem.

To till 180,000,000 acres China employs about 120,000,000 farm workers, whereas the United States employs only 10,000,000 farmers to cultivate 380,000,000 acres. In other words, a Chinese cultivates one and a half acres where an American farm

worker cultivates thirty-eight acres. Assuming that in America an acre yields only sixteen bushels of wheat and in China about twenty-two bushels or forty per cent more than an acre's yield in America, a Chinese farm worker produces only thirty-three bushels where an American can produce 608 bushels. This is due to the fact that in China the farmer does everything by hand. He uses the same plow, without making any improvement, as first invented by Shen Nung in 2700 B. C. There are some exceptions, however. In some places they make a flour mill out of a boat. They anchor the boat on the swift current and the wheel is turned by water power. The boat mill is similar to those seen in the Danube River between Vienna and Budapest. But in America the farmer does all by machine. He tills, saws, cuts, threshes, grinds, packs, transports, sells, cooks and eats — all by machine. Nearly three-fourths of China's cultivable lands now lying idle can hardly be brought under cultivation without the aid of machinery.

Foreign Trade. With her undeveloped industries, poor transportation and primitive agriculture, China is poor and moneyless. The national wealth per capita in the United States is $3200, in France $2400, in Japan $450, but in China it is only $100. A poor man cannot buy or sell much. The entire foreign commerce of China is less than that of Canada,

although the Chinese population is fifty times the Canadian. The total foreign trade per capita in Canada is $192, in the United States $51, but in China it is only $3. If China's foreign trade per capita were as much as that of the United States, the total annual foreign trade would amount to $20,000,000,000 instead of $1,400,000,000 which is the present annual amount of foreign trade of China.

Raw cotton and cotton goods constitute the biggest item of Chinese import, being twenty-eight per cent of the total. Of course, China produces some cotton, nearly three million bales a year and also she manufactures cotton cloth, but she cannot supply all of her domestic demands. It is estimated that the annual consumption of cotton goods by China would carpet a roadway six feet wide from here to the moon. Next to cotton come sugar, kerosene, rice, metals, coal, tobacco, flour and the like. Her biggest item of export is raw silk and silk goods which form twenty per cent of her entire export. Beans and bean products constitute eighteen per cent of her export. China also exports skins, hides, furs, tea, eggs, bristles and many other products of minor value.

Until the end of the nineteenth century Great Britain led in China's foreign trade. Now Japan comes first. Japan occupies twenty-seven per cent of China's total foreign trade; the United States seventeen per cent; and Great Britain fourteen per cent.

British Hongkong, which is a free port, handles twenty-three per cent of the total foreign trade of China.

Causes of Industrial Backwardness

China possesses all the qualifications of a great industrial nation, her industrious people, rich resources, temperate climate and favorable surroundings. Then why do not the Chinese develop their industry? They are doing all they can under the circumstances, but industrial progress is greatly hindered by (1) political unrest, (2) lack of experience in big business, (3) lack of capital, (4) persistence of the old industry and (5) foreign strangulation of China.

Political Unrest. Under the imperial regime, official "squeezing" killed all the geese which would lay golden eggs. The corrupt officials robbed the people, both the rich and the poor, by collecting arbitrary taxation, by selling vacant offices and often by force and extortion. Under the republic the murderous tuchuns, by waging countless wars paralyze industry, ruin agriculture, rob, murder, loot and pillage the innocent people who would build up industry and commerce. The Chinese people, being very capable and industrious, can flourish in any place under an orderly government. The Chinese corporations in Hongkong, Shanghai and other concessions and settlements out-produce and out-sell the foreigners. It

seems that the Chinese can succeed in business everywhere except in China and under the Chinese Government.

Lack of Experience. Fifty years ago when Japan wanted to develop her industry in a short period of time, she employed foreign experts for a term of years to organize and operate big corporations. Under each foreigner was appointed a Japanese assistant whose business was to see how did his foreign superior manage the business. At the end of ten or fifteen years the foreign experts were either paid or pensioned off and the Japanese assistants took over and managed the whole business.

The Chinese industry is chiefly a small handicraft and they have little experience in big corporations. China has quite a number of students who studied the principles of big business but they, too, seldom have practical experience. Moreover, the Chinese people are very conservative and superfluously cautious in investments and seldom cast their lot with strangers in a corporation. If they have surplus cash, they would rather bury it under the ground than invest it in a corporation. Consequently, China has very few joint stock corporations. Most of the Chinese firms are either individual or family undertakings. If China wishes to compete with other industrial nations, she must introduce the joint stock corporations to be managed by experienced experts.

Lack of Capital. Large scale industry demands a huge capital. The Chinese people are either moneyless or unwilling to lend money for industrial undertakings. Foreign investments in China amount to nearly two billion dollars. But the foreign capital has been very slow in coming into China due to the uncertainties created by war and strife. Money is very scarce and interest rates are very high—as high as twenty per cent for short time loans. The old Chinese proverb "wholesale robbers start a bank," can still be applied to the Chinese bankers.

The popular saying is that in China there is no bank failure because if a bank fails the manager of the bank has his head chopped off. This might have been the case in the old China, when the guilds regulated the rules of commerce and business and settled all the disputes and punished the guilty members without government interference. Undoubtedly, in many localities the bankers' guilds might have chopped off the heads of their guilty members. But it is no longer true in modern China. During the revolution of 1911, nearly fifty banks failed in south China, but none of the bankers lost their heads. Today there are as many bank failures in China in proportion to the number of banks as there are in America.

China is one of the oldest nations which knew banking principles, but the present banking situation

is far from perfect. There are fifty foreign banks and about 150 modern Chinese banks and many hundreds of old and semi-modern banks. Until recently no attempt was made to regulate banks. Some banks had capital as low as £500. There was no regulation about bank notes. The banks over-issued various irredeemable notes which caused depreciation of notes and confusion in the money market.

China has no standard medium of exchange. The haikwan tael, which is not a coin but a standard weight of silver, is supposed to be a uniform medium of exchange throughout the country. But there is no uniformity; there are seventy-seven various haikwan taels in the country. The haikwan tael corresponds to a dollar and its present exchange rate is sixty-seven cents in American money. There are subsidiary coins made of silver and of copper. The old brass cash which first was made in 1032 B.C. is still used in the interior parts of China. Three dollars' worth of brass cash weighs fifty pounds.

The new Nationalist Government attempts to regulate the banks and standardize the currency. The National Economic Conference held in Shanghai in June, 1928, proposed to reform currency and create a national banking system. The Nationalist Government authorized on October 6th the minister of finance to issue a loan of $30,000,000 to organize a

central Bank of China, and accordingly, the bank opened at Shanghai on November 1, 1928.

Another interesting fact in this connection is the coming of Dr. Edwin Walter Kemmerer of Princeton University. Dr. Kemmerer is known as "Money Doctor." He has served in ten different countries as a currency expert. At the invitation of the Nationalist Government, Dr. Kemmerer and his staff of fifteen men landed in China on February 9, 1929. The Chinese Government provided $2,000,000 for the work of the finance commission.

Persistence of the Old Economy. The old trade and craft guilds oppose modernization of industry for the plain reason that they will have to go out of existence. The cheapness of labor, too, retards the adoption of machinery. Wheelbarrows, for example, can outbid fifty per cent over motor truck owners. The laborers can do the work by hand as cheaply as any one with machines. Why use costly machines? The old Chinese scholar etiquette also hinders prompt and efficient business. If a firm were to order certain articles, the executive of the firm would tell it to his assistant, his assistant to the clerk, the clerk to the servant, servant to the coolie, coolie to the doorman of the designated firm, the doorman to the servant, servant to the clerk, the clerk to the assistant executive and thence to the chief executive. It takes too much time and formality compared with

the American business men who can drive the pigs to the slaughter house and turn the flesh into pork sausages, ears into purses, and tails into shaving brushes—all in forty minutes!

Foreign Strangulation. Foreign imperialism, too, is blamed for slow development of Chinese industry. Any industry needs some protection when it is at the infant stage. If the United States had no protection when her industry was at its infant stage, do you think America could have developed her industry as it is today? I doubt it very much. Please do not misunderstand. I am not a Republican; I am not a Democrat either; I am an honest man. China's infant industry has no protection. The foreign powers fixed the Chinese tariff in 1842 at five per cent ad valorem, and only in February, 1929, was China allowed to raise her tariff.

Economic Policy of the Nationalist Government

The new Nationalist Government fights for industrial development. It seeks to create better banking facilities. It proposes to organize farmer's banks to aid the peasant; to convert the swollen armies into labor battalions; to improve agriculture, industry, and transportation. It announced in August, 1928, that the government will undertake to build the Canton-Hankow railway which will cost $54,000,-

000. It aims to improve harbor construction, irrigation and re-forestation and to undertake large scale industries instead of leaving them to private enterprise. The Nationalist Government is building a new port called Whampoa below Canton. The new port will take away most of the trade from British Hongkong. It does not refuse to use foreign capital if necessary. In August, 1928, it was reported that an agreement was made by which the British financiers will invest $75,000,000 in Nationalist China for industrial undertakings. If the Kuomintang Government can carry out its policy of domestic development, without being interfered with by internal war or foreign aggression, the world will witness a new industrial power in the present generation.

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CHAPTER VI

Labor Movement in the Nationalist China

"How long," they say, "how long, O cruel nation,
Will you stand, to move the world, on a child's heart,—
Stifle down with a mailed heel its palpitation,
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?
Our blood splashes upward, O gold-heaper,
And your purple shows your path!
But the child's sob in the silence curses deeper
Than the strong man in his wrath."

—Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

Labor Conditions

Child Labor. If England suffered most from the evil effects of industrial revolution, China comes next to England. Those who can sympathize with the little English chimney-sweepers who were driven into the charcoal darkened chimneys where they were choked, suffocated and often died, just as well can sympathize with the Chinese children in the modern factories. While your children play with toys or sleep on soft silk beds, the Chinese children are toiling between the rapidly moving wheels from 5 A.M. to 6 P.M. and 7 P.M. While your boys and girls are studying in the class rooms or walk-

ing on the playground, the Chinese boys and girls are prisoners in the noisy factories where they make matches with phosphorus and sulphur, or manipulate silk cocoons in boiling hot water, or manufacture rugs and roll cigarettes. While your American ladies powder their noses, curl their hair or drive around in shining automobiles, our ladies weave silk, and cotton, and make rugs, with their babies tied on their backs.

As in eighteenth century England when the contractors used to get children from the poorhouses to work in the factories, in the modern China, precisely such a contract labor system prevails. The contractors go out into the country districts, hire the children of poor parents, drive them into the industrial cities, and virtually sell them to the factory owners. The parents receive two dollars a month and the contractors get four dollars. The actual conditions of the life of these children are those of slavery.

Approximately, fifteen per cent of all the factory workers are children under twelve years of age. These children whose ages run five to fifteen, work from ten to eighteen hours a day for which they receive all the way from a penny to twenty cents.

The boys and girls in the silk factories work thirteen hours a day at an average daily wage of twelve cents. Those at the rug factories work sixteen hours a day from 5:30 A.M. to 10 P.M. and they re-

ceive $4.50 a month. The boys and girls, working thirteen hours in the dark, dirty, ill-ventilated match factories, inhaling the deadly fumes of the phosphorus and sulphur, receive from three dollars to ten dollars a month. In many cases the boys are apprentices who receive no wage whatever, but their food. There is no end to their toil and their future holds no hope. In most factories they do not get Sundays off; save the Chinese New Year, they have to work continuously.

The capitalists make huge profits by grinding out the life blood of the innocent children. In some cases they make nearly a hundred per cent annual dividends. But their employees are under-paid, undernourished, and exposed to injury. The employers, however, are not ashamed of it. They lift up their faces and proudly explain to the world: "Little pay is better than no pay at all. Hard work is better than infanticide and starvation."

The foreign reformers deserve credit for finding out and calling the attention of the people to the abominable conditions existing in the factories. After examining the working conditions in Shanghai International Settlement, the reformers began to agitate for improvement of working conditions. As a result of continued agitation on the subject of child labor, the Municipal Council of Shanghai appointed a commission in 1923 to investigate the actual condi-

tions. This commission conducted an extensive investigation and finally submitted a recommendation which was branded as too radical by the Shanghai foreign taxpayers. The "radical recommendations" were: immediate prohibition of the employment of children under ten, this restriction to extend to those up to twelve at the end of four more years; a twelve-hour work day for those under fourteen, and one day off in at least every two weeks for all child workers.

A by-law concerning child labor was to be enacted at the May rate payers meeting, but the hostile rate payers frustrated the proposal by staying away from the meeting; not enough members were present to form a quorum. The contention of the rate payers was that if the child labor law is enforced only in the International Settlement which forms one-third of greater Shanghai, the children who live in the settlement will go to work to the Chinese section of the city where there is no law barring them. Then the capitalists in the settlement cannot compete with the Chinese manufacturers living outside the settlement because they will have to pay higher wages. This is another way of saying that they opposed the law because it would cut down their profit. It is only justice to the foreigners to say that they were not the only element which opposed the proposed law. The Chinese rate payers also opposed it. Their opposi-

tion was based on the assumption that if the children were barred from factories, there is no other place for them. There are not enough schools in the settlement to receive them. Even though there were enough schools, their parents cannot afford to educate them. Thus it would be better to permit them to work instead of leaving them on the streets. The combined opposition of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and some thirty other Chinese organizations and of the foreign rate payers, struck a mortal blow to the proposed child labor law. Consequently, there is no child labor regulation in Shanghai, or in other cities in China. A factory regulation was promulgated by the Chinese Government but it is not enforced anywhere in China.

To the credit of the English people, be it said, British Hongkong is the only city in China which has a child labor law. The law, which was passed in 1923, prohibits the employment of children under ten in factories, the employment of children under twelve in carrying coal or similar heavy tasks, the employment of children under fifteen in the making of glass and fireworks; it provides one day's rest in seven and it limits the employment to daylight hours.

The Adult Workers. Why does a six-year-old child have to work in the factory? Because his parents cannot earn enough to feed him. The wages for

adult workers are not much higher than those of the children. The lowliest laborer in America receives a cash income equal to that of a whole Chinese village. His food at his scantiest meal of the day would be considered a feast by a Chinese laborer and his overall may be regarded as holiday attire. A member of the International Famine Relief Committee asked a Chinese villager how often does he eat meat. The answer was, "Never." How can he? Most of the 70,000 rickshaw pullers in Peking earn on the average fifteen cents a day. After five years of this work they are broken in health and become useless. The coolies carry the sedan chair on their shoulders across Szechuan Province at the rate of eight coppers a day. The average daily wage in Sianfu, a city in the interior of China, is three coppers. At the Ichang coal mine the coolies carry a 400-pound load of coal on their backs down to the river, a mile and a half away for a big copper cent. The unskilled laborers in the factories work from sun-up to late at night in the hardest kind of drudgery. They have no time off for lunch and they munch their lunch while they work. For that they get from six dollars to nine dollars a month. The spinners in the cotton mills receive from nine dollars to nineteen dollars a month.

According to the report of the Chinese ministry of agriculture and commerce for 1923, in the twenty-

nine principal industries for which statistics were collected, wages for 300,000 men ranged from a minimum of one and one-half to seven and one-half cents a day to a maximum of twenty to fifty cents. The wages for 220,000 women varied from a minimum of one to seventeen cents and a maximum of two and one-half to forty-two cents per day (in American currency).

Although the cost of living is low and the purchasing power of money is high, the wage is much lower relatively than the cost of living. The minimum annual cost of food and clothing for a family, without considering rent, heat, and the indispensable sundries is estimated at $150.00. But about eighty per cent of the families have less than this. In the city of Shanghai when the minimum cost of existence for two people in the poor section amounted to $16.00 a month, the monthly wages for adult workers ran from eight dollars to fifteen dollars.

China is a paradise for employers and a slaughter house for the workers. The manufacturers, both foreigners and the Chinese, grind out into profit the life, blood, tissue, brain and brawn of their workers without just compensation. It was under such conditions that the labor unions sprang up in every city like mushrooms.

It is only justice to say that the capitalists are not solely responsible for low wages in China; they have

taken advantage of cheap labor conditions already created by the primitive industry, and over-production of human beings. The wages in the industrial cities are higher, even in proportion to the higher standard of living, than in the countries where the family income of a poor farmer does not exceed sixty dollars a year. Likewise it is only fair to say that there are many thoughtful manufacturers, both Chinese and foreigners, who aim to introduce western industrialism without much of its evils. Several capitalists built up lunch rooms, boarding houses, and schoolrooms for their employees, to avoid filthy slums which are growing around the factories. The sad case is that there are not enough of them. Any fair-minded employer in China can afford to pay his employees more and treat them better than they do now, yet make good profit.

Labor Movement

The Rise of Labor Unions. In the old China the guild was the only industrial organization. Both master and apprentice were members of the same guild. The aim of the guild was to promote a spirit of co-operation between the employers and the employees and between the guild members rather than waging a war or competition against each other. Their idea was to avoid conflict or competition, for they found it too costly to indulge in. They fixed the

minimum wages for laborers, the minimum price for certain commodities, and the quality of the articles. If a member of any guild violated the rules, all others boycott him. The boycott was the biggest weapon, the last resort of the trade guilds. The boycott movement against Japan and England in recent days owes much of its success to the guild practices.

The introduction of the large scale industrial system inevitably broke the harmony between the laborers and the capitalists. As the modern industry replaced the primitive handicrafts, new labor organizations began to replace the trade guilds. As early as 1917 labor news were published and district labor unions were under formation. The student agitation against Japanese imperialism in 1919 led to the formation of twenty-six labor organizations. Early in 1920 a successful strike by the Mechanics' Union in Hongkong gave a fresh impulse, and more than a hundred unions sprang up in a few months. The First National Congress of the Chinese workers was held in Canton in May, 1922. At that conference, 160 delegates representing 200 unions with a total membership of 300,000 were present and they formed the Chinese National Federation of Labor. The second national conference was held in Canton in May, 1925, and was attended by 285 delegates representing 450,000 organized workers. At this meeting they decided to affiliate with the Red International of the

Labor Unions. The third national conference was held in Canton in May, 1926. Delegates to the number of 400 representing 1,240,000 organized workers were present. At the present the federation claims a total membership of 3,000,000 organized workers.

The Chinese labor unions are industrial in type. They include all the workers of a particular industry as opposed to the craft union type which prevails in America. Some of the larger industrial unions are the cotton mill operatives, numbering 160,000, the silk workers, 80,000, and the metal workers, 160,000.

While labor unions are growing in rapidity, the employers, too, are organizing their groups. The Chinese Chamber of Commerce is established in most of the cities. The chamber is authorized by the government to constitute a court and settle disputes. The chief aim, however, is to improve industry and business and promote friendly relations between workers and merchants—another trait of the old Chinese guild.

The Labor Strikes. To improve their working conditions, the unions waged many strikes. There were 169 strikes in 1926 in Shanghai alone. The first strike on a large scale was that of the Hanyehping iron and coal mining company in the summer of 1919. But the most encouraging strike they ever

waged was the Hongkong seamen's strike in February, 1922. The 60,000 seamen tied up some 200 ships with a total tonnage of 250,000 for six weeks, paralyzing the coastal trade of the country. Over a million dollars were lost by the ship owners. The strikers came out victorious with a wage increase from fifteen to thirty per cent.

The general strike in June, 1925, following the shooting of Chinese students by foreign police in Shanghai, was probably one of the greatest spectacular strikes in the world. Partly for their economic motives and partly for patriotic sentiment, nearly 500,000 coolies, domestic servants, factory workers, clerks and the like went out on strike. Nearly 100,000 coolies left British Hongkong in a body. In the magnificent foreign hotels in Hongkong and Shanghai where room rent is as high as fifteen dollars a day, the guests had to carry their own baggage and make their own beds. The fashionable foreign ladies who knew little about cooking and never were able to distinguish baking powder from soap powder, were forced to make some bridal biscuits for their husbands.

In most of these strikes the workers are successful. It is in part due to the fact that the employers are able to raise the wages. The more important reason is that the Chinese as a race are very responsive

to mass action. When they strike there is no strike breaker. They stand united to the end.

The Chinese strike, however, is usually very peaceful and harmless—as harmless as a political campaign at the women's clubs. They do not resort to force and violence. But the capitalists often appeal to force, because they can rely on the foreign gunboats for their protection. All the excitement which swept the whole country from one end to the other in 1925 was caused by the killing of a Chinese striker by a Japanese foreman at a Shanghai cotton mill. During the Hongkong seamen's strike, the British armed guard fired upon the peacefully departing workers, resulting in a number of casualties. Since 1925, the Chinese labor movement became more militant, undoubtedly influenced by the Soviet agitators and the radical elements in the Nationalist Party. The militant labor groups were severely suppressed by Chiang Kai-shek since the Nanking incident in March, 1927.

The Attitude of the Nationalist Government. The attitude of the Nationalist Government toward labor unions in general is very sympathetic. It must not be forgotten that the nationalists owe to the laborers a good deal of their success in the campaign against the northern war lords. The government recognizes the right of the workers to organize labor unions and the right to strike; it endeavors to reduce the

working hours to fifty-four a week; it stands for the abolition of the contract labor system, insurance against accident and unemployment, building schools for the children of the workers, and for establishing co-operative stores.

Agrarian Revolt

The Grief of the Farmer. Nearly 60,000,000 families engaged in agriculture in China cultivate 180,000,000 acres of land. This means each family with five to six mouths to feed, cultivates on the average three acres. Assuming that an acre produces twenty-two bushels of wheat or rice, three acres will produce sixty-six bushels and that is the entire income of the whole family. Worst of all, many of these farmers are tenants and they have to pay the landowners up to fifty per cent of the harvest. Then what is left for the farmer? It is no wonder then that the Chinese are constantly threatened by hunger and famine.

The poor farmers whether they are tenants or proprietors, are born to suffer. They are often raided by bandits and are robbed of their chickens, pigs, cattle, daughters and wives. They are often tortured by the military tuchuns and forced to pay the land taxes, in some extreme cases nearly forty years in advance. It was under such conditions that the ten-

ants and petty proprietors simultaneously arose to fight for life and food.

The Peasant Movement. Two types of farmer's organizations have grown up since 1923. One is the Red Spears, a militant secret organization, which originally came into existence as a means of defending the villages and countryside roads against the bandits and unruly soldiers, and some cruelly disposed landed gentry. The Red Spears are very radical and communistic, and in many of the southern provinces they executed the gentry and divided the lands among themselves. The Nationalist Government has thwarted the activities of this organization since 1927.

The other type is the Peasant Union which is more moderate and less militant than the Red Spears. It has a national organization with its local and provincial bodies. Its membership is limited to small land owners, tenants and workers. The conditions for membership differ from province to province. The Canton Federation of Peasant Unions give five conditions for membership: (1) must own less than seventeen acres of land; (2) must not have interests that conflict with the peasants; (3) must not be money-lenders who mortgage farms; (4) must not be churchmen; (5) must not have connections with imperialists.

The Peasant Unions stand for popular education,

social reform, and better facilities for farmers. They respect private property and do not believe in equal partition of lands. But they believe in confiscation of lands from rowdies, counter-revolutionaries, bandit gangs and evil disposed gentry.

The Agrarian Policy of the Nationalist Government. The agrarian policies of the Nationalist Government are: recognition of the farmers' right to form unions; right to form volunteer corps for self-defense; no confiscation of lands from gentry; reduction of rent not to exceed twenty-five per cent; abolition of rent in time of famine; establishment of farmers' banks to make loans at five per cent interest; limitation of interest rates to a maximum of twenty per cent; establishment of farmers' co-operative societies and creation of a government commission to prevent exorbitant land rents and illegal taxes.

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CHAPTER VII

Social Problems of China

The Problem of Population

THE Problem. "God must love the Chinese," exclaimed Sherwood Eddy, "for he made so many of them." God must love, not only the Chinese, but all the human races, for he made and is making so many of them—50,000 new mouths are added daily in this already crowded world! China has approximately 446,000,000 inhabitants, or one-fourth of the entire world's population, and her population will double its number in every seventy years under normal conditions! How is she going to shelter, clothe, and feed her teeming millions? It is a great world problem. Before we discuss the solution of this problem, let us stop a minute and examine the make-up of the population and the exact nature of the population problem.

The Chinese people are divided into five races: the Chinese who form ninety per cent of the entire population, about ten million of Manchus, six million of Tibetans, two million of Mongolians and one and a half million of Mohammedans. They are different in blood, physique, temperament, customs,

and religion—Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and Mohammedanism, and they are divided by three distinct languages, nineteen different dialects, sectionalism, and provincialism. In spite of all these the people of China constitute an essentially homogeneous nation. Like the ocean which salts everything that comes into its realm, China naturalized all these different races, both the conqueror and the conquered to such an extent that she has no nationality problem, the problem which causes much conflict in Turkey, British Empire and the United States. But China, like other countries, has her population problem: the problem of over-production and unequal distribution.

Distribution. China has a total area of 4,282,000 square miles, 662,000 square miles larger than the United States including all of her dependencies. The density of population is 104 per square mile against 307 in the Japanese Empire. China as a whole is not very crowded as we believe to be the case. But some provinces in China, especially the river regions and coastal provinces are very much congested. The density of population is 552 in Shantung Province, 601 in Chikiang Province and 875 in Kiangsu Province. In these provinces every inch of land is utilized for cultivation of crops to the available limit. Hills are leveled, ditches are filled, and roads are narrowed down to a width of one to three feet. There

is no pasture, open yards or parks to pitch a tent, and yet hundreds and thousands of the Chinese people are driven into rivers and seas and live on small boats.

There on the river they do not have to worry about rents to pay. If one does not like the neighbors, he can change the scene as he pleases. If a baby is born, he is tied to a sealed jar which will mark his location in case he tumbles into the water. If one dies on the boat, the body is thrown into the water and no funeral expense is needed. He can train the cormorants to catch fish for him. The throat of the bird is tied with a cord so that it cannot swallow the fish. All these make the river boat life somewhat interesting for those who will choose it voluntarily. But to those who are compelled to live on the river for life, it is an unbearable torture in a floating prison.

It is a great mistake to assume that all parts of China are so crowded as the coastal provinces. Manchuria with 363,700 square miles of rich agricultural land has only 22,000,000 inhabitants or sixty-one per square mile; Singkiang with 550,000 square miles has 1,200,000 or two per square mile; Mongolia with 1,370,000 square miles has 2,500,000 or two per square mile; Tibet with 465,000 square miles has 6,500,000 or fourteen per square mile. Julian Arnold, the United States Commercial Attaché at

Peking states that two-thirds of China's population is jammed in one-third of its area. In short, China has as much unsettled lands as the United States. China has 520,000,000 acres of tillable land which is not under cultivation, against 585,000,000 acres for the United States. But the Chinese people are reluctant to get away from the light of civilization and lead a pioneer life in the twilight of barbarism.

Causes of Over-Production. The congestion of the Chinese population is made very acute by both over-production and unequal distribution.

Ancestor worship furnishes one great cause of population pressure. It is the cherished belief of the people that the most sacred duty of a man is to have a son to offer sacrifice at the ancestral altar. They offer food and burn incense once a year at the graveyard, believing that the spirits of their ancestors will beg rice from other spirits if they did not offer sacrifice. The educated people, of course, have a different idea about the sacrifice; they offer food and drink to the grave in memory of the deceased just as the Americans garnish the cemetery with flowers. The graveyards often occupy from five to twenty per cent of the best inhabitable lands. They are so well decorated that one might wonder whether China belongs to the dead or to the living.

The failure to have an offspring to continue the family line and offer sacrifice to the ancestral altar

is considered to be a great crime against the whole family. To divorce his wife for failure to bring a male child, or to marry a half dozen wives for the sake of securing a male line of descendants is considered to be perfectly legitimate. Many wives, of course, mean more children.

Moreover, the Chinese parents look toward the children as an old age insurance. In China the parents take care of the children when they are young and the children take care of their parents when they grow old. The man with a big family, therefore, is always congratulated and respected, whereas the man with a small family is regarded as sad and helpless. Everybody wants to have more children and the result is over-production and congestion of human beings.

The institution of marriage is another cause of population pressure in the Orient. In the United States nearly one-sixth of women between the ages of thirty and thirty-five are unmarried but in the Orient not one in a thousand ever remains a spinster. The parents of the children arrange the marriage through a middleman and the bride and bridegroom cannot see each other until they appear at the wedding. For that reason all the boys and girls whether they are attractive or not, can marry somebody, although they may not be able to marry exactly whom

they want. Each marriage is usually fruitful of many children because they marry very young.

In America one never thinks of marrying until he is capable of supporting a home, but in China the boys and girls marry at any age between nine and seventeen and live under their parents' care even after marriage. The result is faster increase of population. The yellow race doubles its number every seventy years under normal conditions, whereas the white race doubles its number in every ninety years.

The population of China was reduced, mostly through wars, by two-thirds in the beginning of Later Han Dynasty, six-sevenths in the Three Kingdom Period, two-thirds in the beginning of the Tang Dynasty, one-fourth in the beginning of the Sung Dynasty, more than half in the beginning of the South Sung Dynasty, and over three-fifths in the beginning of the Tsing Dynasty. But no sooner were they cut down than arose a new generation. The Chinese population reached its saturation point in 1850 and it has remained almost stationary ever since. It is due partly to famine which sweeps out many thousands every year and partly to infant mortality.

Causes of Unequal Distribution. If the present population were well spread throughout the country, China would not feel much of population pressure. But the trouble is that they do not spread out. Un-

equal distribution of population, therefore, presents a more serious problem than does over-production.

Undoubtedly, the greatest single factor concerning the unequal distribution of population is the Chinese family system, a system entirely detrimental to progress and adventure. Why do Englishmen go out and build their homes in all parts of the world, while the Chinese are all crammed in a limited area and yet do not explore even their own country? It is the family system which makes the Chinese different. In England, all the boys except the oldest son, who inherits the property, must make their own living and they roll up their beds and move into strange lands, seeking for opportunities to make a living. But in China all the boys and girls marry early through the arrangement of their parents and live at their parents' home. They do not worry a thing about their future home and they do not have to struggle to make a living. Consequently their ambition, their incentive to struggle and venture are all paralyzed in the family under the protection of their parents. Enslaved and bound by the autocratic family system, the Chinese young people have never been given a chance to make a progress during the past four thousand years. They are all congested and crammed in one place and die by thousands for lack of food, but they never think of moving into the idle lands.

Besides, lack of transportation and banditry further hinder the distribution of the population in China. If a farmer builds a home in an isolated place, bandits will rob his chickens, pigs and cattle and murder his wife and children overnight. He is absolutely helpless. He has no protection and no place to make an appeal. Why then should he go out of the town and be killed by bandits?

Results of Congestion. The penalties for overproduction and unequal distribution of population in an industrially undeveloped country is very great. Lower standard of living, cheap labor, infanticide, hunger and famine are only a few of the many results.

Approximately eighty per cent of the people in north China and fifty per cent in south China has an annual family income less than $150.00. The average family cultivates two and one-half acres from which they get practically all their support. In the southern provinces two crops are raised in one year but still it is not enough. A model family will have an annual income of $83.00 with 4.4 mouths to feed.

The gross annual income of $83.00 may be divided as follows:

$55.13 ..... Food
7.15 ..... Rent
7.10 ..... Clothing

9.82.....Fuel, mostly for oil light
3.80 .....Miscellaneous

This is not enough to support an American family for a month. But the Chinese family must live on it for a year. There is no provision for recreation, medical treatment, education or the like. The house where the average farmer lives often is a thatched mud hut. Flues are made underneath the floor and the smoke from the fire used in cooking warms the floor. China has an unlimited amount of coal reserves but they are all saved under the ground. Boys and girls rake the leaves and pick the corn stocks for fuel. North and central China is very cold in winter. But there is no heat in the house. The babies are wrapped in padded cotton, six inches thick, and men and women put on one suit after another, sometimes as many as fourteen suits of clothes provided that they have that many, until their corpulency equals that of some American ladies.

"How many times a year do you eat meat?" asked a foreigner of a Chinese villager. The answer was, "Never." Millions of people in China never can have a square meal in all of their life time. The people in the congested areas live so near to the marginal level of subsistence that famine is almost an everyday affair. It is estimated that between 108 B. C. and 1911 A. D. there were 1828 great famines, or almost one every year. The famine is much more ac-

centuated in recent years not only by congestion of population and lack of transportation but also by civil wars and cultivation of poppies in place of food products.

The shortage of provisions compel the people to eat almost anything. Seaweeds, kelp, fungus, fingerlings, sweet potato vines, silk-worms after the cocoon has been unwound from them. Mangy curs, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, and the cow or pig which has died a natural death—all these are converted into food to eke out an existence. J. E. Baker of the International Famine Relief Committee showed at Shanghai in August, 1928, some specimens of foods collected in the famine area including cakes made of elm bark and leaves with chaff of millet seeds, and fried grasshoppers which were eaten with soup made from boiled pig weeds. As for those more unfortunate ones who cannot get even this kind of food, only infanticide and wholesale starvation come to the relief of their agony of hunger.

To remedy the congestion and annual famines, the government must develop industry, transportation, and maintain peace and order and assist a wider distribution of the present population. The people must be taught that the welfare of China and the peace of the world depends, not on the reckless production of children, but on race improvements on a basis of

quality, not of quantity, aiming at a higher type of human beings.

The Problem of Opium

British Opium in China. Many think that England first introduced opium to China. But it is not true. Poppy plants were known in China since the eighth century A. D., and were used for medical purposes nine centuries. The smoking habit is said to be introduced by the Dutch from Formosa. Since the introduction of the smoking habit foreign opium, mostly from India, came into China in great quantities. It is estimated that between 1773 and 1906, about $2,000,000,000 worth of opium was sold to China.

The evils of the deadly drug grew so dangerous to the nation that China began to suppress the use of opium. As early as 1729, the Emperor issued an edict prohibiting the sale of smoking opium and opening of smoking divans. In 1796, another edict was issued and the importation of opium was forbidden. But the foreign traders continued the business in direct violation of the Chinese law. In 1838, the Chinese opium commissioner, Lin, seized and burned 20,000 chests of British opium, which was worth $6,000,000. The incident led England and China into that infamous opium war of 1839-42. China was defeated. The opium was cleverly omitted from

the provision of the peace treaty permitting the trade to continue as prior to the opium war. Lord Palmerston wished to legalize the traffic instead of leaving it in the air and, in 1843, he advised Sir Henry Pottinger to negotiate the matter with the Chinese Government. There was no necessity for legalizing the trade since the merchants could carry on all the opium trade without legalizing it, and the negotiation was not strongly pressed.

Following the war opium trade boomed. British Hongkong became a base of the opium traffic. The foreign vessels were busily engaged in that inhuman traffic. Furthermore, the British ordinance permitted Chinese boats registered in Hongkong to fly the British flag and enabled the Chinese fortune-seekers to share in the trade under the protection of Her Britannic Majesty. Out of this permit arose the "Arrow" case which led into the second opium war. The treaty of 1858, following the second opium war, legalized this opium traffic. The importers were required to pay a duty of thirty taels for a chest, which formed about ten per cent of the price of the chest. Thence China was obliged to permit the foreigners to carry out the hideous trade legally.

China fought two wars more or less for the suppression of the opium trade. If she had fought another one, it was plain that she would have been defeated again. There was no use in wasting blood.

She adopted a different policy, utterly horrible and blood curdling, but it was the only policy she could pursue under the circumstances. She permitted her people to grow poppies to drive out foreign opium. Miles and miles of rich agricultural lands were converted into purple, ruby, crimson, scarlet, pink and white poppy fields. Very soon the Chinese grew six-sevenths of the opium consumed at home. China was lost, lost in the fields where the poppies grow. Poppies were grown in every province and the deadly drug was smoked by everybody. It was said, eleven out of ten people in Shensi smoked opium. By 1906 there were 8,000,000 persons addicted to the opium habit.

Suppression of Opium Smoking. With her people poisoned with opium, China felt the mailed fists of the imperialistic powers right on her throat. The sleeping giantess awoke from her nightmare, and shaking her fists, grinding her teeth, she determined to do one thing—to purge the country of opium evils. An imperial edict was issued in 1906, prohibiting production and consumption of opium in ten years. In 1907 China made an agreement with Great Britain by which the latter promised to cease the importation of Indian opium into China in ten years by reducing the trade ten per cent each year. In 1911 an additional agreement was made by which Great Britain promised to cease importing opium immedi-

ately into the provinces where the growing of poppy was completely suppressed. China enforced the anti-opium edict so effectively that by 1917 she succeeded in eradicating the cultivation of poppies within her borders.

Forced Cultivation of Poppies. Meantime the civil war broke out and the militarists took the law in their own hands and let the people cultivate poppies so that they might exact more taxes to finance the civil war. By 1924, poppy cultivation was free and unrestricted in all provinces except Shansi, where the model Governor Yen ruled. Poppy cultivation was forced upon the people by the tuchuns in the provinces of Anhwei, Fukien, Kansu, Shensi, and Szechuan. In these provinces the farmers were actually forced by their own officials to grow opium in 1924. It was estimated that China produced in 1927 about 25,000,000 pounds of opium, whereas India produced only 2,000,000 pounds, Turkey 600,000 pounds and Persia 400,000 pounds.

Although the cultivation of the poppy was revived in China since 1917, the British Government never attempted to renew her opium trade with that country. At present the Indian opium cannot come into China legally, although it is smuggled in. The chief opium problem of China, then, is not so much concerned with foreign opium as was the case before

the opium war, but it is primarily concerned with the domestic production of poppies.

The policy of the Nationalist Party is to suppress opium smoking and its cultivation. But so far it has been unable to accomplish much. The party needed money to finance the campaign against Peking, and instead of suppressing the cultivation of poppies, it created government monopoly to raise funds. In some places the monopoly right was farmed out to private merchants. It is very clear, however, that the Nationalist Government has determined to eradicate the opium evil from China.

An opium suppression act was promulgated by the Nationalist Government on September 10th, 1928, providing for absolute suppression of opium smoking and precluding all possibilities of using the opium as a source of national revenue.

Problem of Romance

The Family Romance. I was only thirteen years old when my father told me one day that I was to be married to an unknown girl. I was greatly shocked and I refused to wed because I wanted to study more and see more of the world before I became imprisoned. But my father said to me, "Keep quiet." Everything was all arranged. I was doomed to be married. A few days before the wedding I ran away

from home and in that way escaped from my unwanted bliss.

My father wanted to marry me early, as the parents of most other boys did, so that I could be happy with my wife from my childhood and that I might be respected more by my friends, since married people are always respected much more than the unmarried, and that I might have a son early who could worship me and my parents.

To the children of the East, love is a burden and marriage is as much a matter of course as death, and is no more to be avoided. A perpetual spinsterhood or a bachelor life is never considered. All the boys and girls are expected to marry whether they are in love with someone else or not, and in their marriage they are not supposed to make love themselves. It is arranged through a middleman.

The clever middleman approaches the girl's parents and tells them that he knows a boy who is strong and handsome. He pictures the groom like the image of an angel. Then he goes to the boy's home and approaches the boy's parents. He tells them that he knows an ideal girl who is pretty, of course, and who cooks rice very well. Through the middleman's lips there is not a single girl who is not pretty; there is not a boy who is not very handsome. The parents then tell their children what they have heard from the middleman. From this time on he

dreams of the girl and she dreams of the boy, they even fall in love without knowing each other. Seldom do they see each other and for this reason they often marry the wrong party.

The advantage of having a middleman is that all the boys and girls can marry someone although they may not be able to marry exactly the party they want. Over here you have a considerable number of old maids and bachelors because of a lack of the middleman's activities.

With the consent of the parents of both parties an engagement is made. They exchange a red card on which the names of the principals, of their parents, of the middleman, and the horoscope of the prospective bride and groom are written. The engagement is a formal document and is protected by law. The announcement of betrothal is followed by exchange of gifts which includes a ring, bracelet, two fish from the groom's home and a present of art, flowers, vermicelli, bread and cakes from the bride's home.

A month preceding the wedding, there is another exchange of gifts. The groom's family sends cakes, fruits, silk for the bride's trousseau, wine, money, a hen and a cock, and a gander and a goose—emblems of the happy pair. The bride's family retains the silk, money, cakes, but it returns one jar of wine and the female fowl. It also sends a pair of candles and candlesticks.

On the wedding day, the procession of the bride begins from her home to that of the groom. She is all in red, wrapped in a red dress and covered with blushes. The sedan chair, too, is covered with red silk, for in China red is a color of happiness, and white the color of mourning. The procession is accompanied all the way by firecrackers and music; one is as noisy as the other.

The groom meets her and leads her into her future room, where they sit side by side. Then each tries to sit on the other's gown. If he succeeds in sitting on her gown first, it means he will be boss and if she succeeds first, it means he will be a henpecked husband. Then they go out into the court under the sky and bow to heaven and earth to witness their union. After that they go into the main hall to worship the groom's ancestors. They complete the ceremony by drinking rice wine. Thus in the Chinese ceremony there is no kissing — a custom which I do not criticize too much. They then return to their room to receive their friends. A two-day feast follows the wedding. On the third day the bride visits her mother and introduces her husband.

According to the old practices, the marriage was only social and religious. But the new law requires that all marriages be registered through securing marriage licenses.

The newlyweds are usually very young, and know

little of life. The groom may be only a thirteen-year-old boy. How can he support a home? That little girl who probably will come to him from her mother's apron-string, often knows nothing of cooking. She will know how to eat well, of course, but who will supply the food? Fortunately they do not have to worry about that. They live with their parents.

Although the life of the married man is easy because he does not have to worry about making a living, the life of the married woman is unhappy and unbearable. Unlike in America, she is not an equal in her home; she is a servant and slave. She has to obey her husband, her father-in-law, mother-in-law, and the wives of her husband's elder brothers. It is usually her mother-in-law who makes the married life of a young woman most unbearable.

In spite of the fact that they marry as strangers and that the life of the married woman is hard, there is very little divorce in China. This is due to the fact that the boys and girls feel they should live with the mates their parents have selected for them. In other words, the tie that holds the union together is not so much one of love but rather of sense of filial duty. From the start they set their minds to live together whether or not they are happy. Once an American missionary told me that the boys and the girls in the Orient do not see each other before they marry, but

over in America they do not see each other after they are married.

The wife may not seek a divorce from her husband, no matter what his offense may be, but the husband can divorce his wife for any one of the following reasons: false statement in the marriage contract, barrenness, sensuality, want of filial duty, loquacity, jealousy, incurable disease, leaving home without the husband's permission, and beating her husband. If she were unfaithful, the husband, under the old regime, might kill her or sell her as a slave. Very seldom does a married woman wed a second time.

Monogamy is the rule but bigamy and polygamy are tolerated in some places. Even under the new republican law, a man may have more than one wife if he can afford it. Polyandry is also practiced in Tibet and in two districts in Fukien Province. In both cases the cause is poverty. A girl becomes the wife of all the brothers of one family. The brothers take turns in staying at home and going abroad to increase the earnings of the family.

Individual Romance. The importation of the western customs and sense of love through motion pictures, foreign business-men and missionaries, and the students educated abroad, is breaking down the old institutions of marriage. We often hear the stories of young men and women who refuse to wed

those whom their parents have selected for them. The boys and the girls of young China prefer to select their mates themselves. One may be surprised to find that the educated Chinese has exactly the same idea about marriage as the educated American. He wants to marry, not for his parents, not for bringing up children, not for wealth or honor, but for love and love only. Now both young men and women are free, to a certain extent, to call on one another. A still more interesting fact, probably unheard of even in Occidental countries, is that women are free to begin the pursuit quite openly. The ceremony, too, is often performed according to the western manner. The married boys and girls refuse to live under the same roof where their parents live. It will not be surprising to see some day that the Oriental people will love, live and die as the Occidental people do.

As it has been shown in marriage, in law, in society and in government, women in the East had no equality with men. The man was everything and woman was nothing. But that is an old story today. The women of new China are revolting against the old customs and traditions. They have emancipated their feet. Foot-binding in modern Chinese cities is less popular than in American cities. They have discarded trousers and are putting on skirts. They bob their hair, too, but they do not "iron" it as the

American ladies do. It seems that the Chinese ladies want to comb their hair as smooth as possible, although the American ladies want to make their tresses as wavy as possible. They powder their noses, too. If all the women in China learn to use powder, the price of American wheat flour may yet rise high, without the need of government price-fixing.

Women have nailed open the iron gates that were hitherto closed in their faces. They invade factories, barber shops and schools. The co-educational system is becoming quite popular in China. They have established law schools and medical schools for women. They learn how to run a home and manipulate a rolling-pin. When a Chinese bride uses a rolling-pin over her husband's head, it surely is a new romance in China. They are invading the field of national government and politics. In October, 1922, the women's organizations petitioned the Parliament demanding women's suffrage, equal opportunities for education, equal rights in marriage, revision of civil and criminal codes, prohibition of prostitution, girl slavery and foot-binding, abolition of concubinage, protection of women workers, and equal pay to equal work with men.

Since the principle of the Kuomintang Party is to grant equal rights to women, within the next few

years a sweeping change in woman's status is expected to be made.

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BOOK II

China's Struggle for Freedom

CHAPTER VIII

China in the Throes of Imperialism

The White Man's Invasion

"IF I were a Chinaman, I would hate the 'foreign devils,' just as they do now," asserted Dr. George A. Dorsey, a noted anthropologist, and author of "Why We Behave Like Human Beings." "Why shouldn't they?" continued Dr. Dorsey. "What I do not understand is why the Chinese do not hate us more." Any one who is well informed of the experience of the Chinese with the foreign powers cannot help sharing Dr. Dorsey's view.

Most of us misunderstand the origin and nature of the anti-foreign agitation. We believe that, dating back to ancient times, the Chinese hated the foreigners and that they attempted to keep them out by building up the great wall and in this way prohibiting external communication. But this is not so. In former days, the Chinese welcomed the foreigners; they admired and loved them. They had laws for the protection of foreigners and also for the punishment of their own citizens who might cheat the foreigner.

But when the foreigners began to mistreat them, the Chinese love turned to hate.

First, the Arabs and the Turks were allowed to settle down in south China in the sixth and seventh century A. D. Before long, they robbed and murdered the Chinese merchants and looted and pillaged the towns and villages. Consequently, they were driven out by the Chinese.

Next came the Portuguese and the Spaniards in the seventeenth century. The Spaniards occupied the Philippine Islands, where many Chinese were settled. As they could not compete with the Chinese merchants, they began to cut the throats of thousands of innocent Chinese for the purpose of getting rid of their competition. The Spanish murderers called themselves Christians; and they were Christians!

Later the Englishmen came. The first groups of Englishmen who came to China were pirates and for some time "Englishmen" and "pirates" were synonymous in the Chinese tongue. The traders of the English East India Company and the missionaries came after the pirates. The Englishmen brought with them many valuable contributions to civilization. They also brought in whiskey and opium on the same boat that carried the Bible and the missionaries. China refused to smoke the British opium, and that

refusal led the two countries into the so-called Opium War.

From the English standpoint the war was not an opium war. England fought not for the opium trade, but for equality of states which China had refused to recognize. From the very ancient times the Chinese people thought that China was a central kingdom and all others were vassal states of China, and she had never recognized the equality of other states. When, in 1793, Lord McCartney came to China as an envoy of the King of England, he was requested to do *kowtow,* knocking the head nine times before the throne of the Celestial Emperor. When the envoy delivered the letter from the King of England asking to negotiate a treaty of commerce, Emperor Chien Lung replied, in part: "Our Celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its own borders. There was, therefore, no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our own produce. . . . I do not forget the lonely remoteness of your island, cut off from the world by intervening wastes of sea, nor do I overlook your excusable ignorance of the usages of our Celestial Empire. . . . Tremblingly obey and show no negligence."

Thus Emperor Chien Lung, like all the emperors of China, assumed a superiority to other nations. But Bertrand Russell says that Emperor Chien Lung

was no more absurd than the Romans who claimed to rule the world, or than Pope Pius, who divided the world between Portugal and Spain.

The Portuguese and the Spaniards either acquiesced or recognized the Chinese claim to superiority and they did *kowtow* and offered tribute. But the pride of the Englishman did not allow him to recognize the Chinese superiority. When China refused to treat England on the basis of equality, they sent battleships and challenged the superiority of the Celestial Empire. Thus, England fought the war for equality of states, pure and simple—from the English point of view.

But there are always two sides to every question. From the Chinese standpoint the war was clearly an opium war and nothing else. The opium drug imported from British India threatened the very life and existence of the Celestial Empire. China issued anti-opium edicts prohibiting the importation of the drug, but the foreigners ignored the imperial edicts and carried out the trade as usual. Finally China determined to end the traffic. Commissioner Lin Tse-su confiscated 20,000 chests of opium and burned them. Then he ordered all foreign vessels to give bonds to import no more opium on penalty of death. The Americans and other foreigners wished to give bonds, but the British refused to give bonds and withdrew to Macao, a Portuguese possession. The

Chinese cut off food supplies from the English traders. Meantime a Chinese was killed in a riot between American and British sailors at Hongkong. The Chinese demanded the delivery of the criminals. Upon refusal, twenty-nine Chinese war junks approached the English vessels to arrest the criminals. Thereupon, the British warships fired upon the Chinese vessels and the Opium War of 1839 had begun. That unfortunate war marked the darkest spot in the blackest phase of the diplomatic history between China and England. Gowan wrote in the "Outline History of China": "No poet will ever sing the praise of those who died in that war." W. E. Gladstone, the famous liberal premier, said: "A war more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated to cover this country with permanent disgrace, I do not know and have not read of. The British flag is hoisted to protect an infamous traffic; and if it was never hoisted except as it is now hoisted on the coast of China, we should recoil from its sight in horror."

China was defeated. She was forced to accept the servile terms of peace proposed by the victor. China ceded Hongkong to Great Britain, paid an indemnity of $21,000,000, granted to the British extra territoriality, and the right to fix the Chinese tariff to suit themselves, and opened five ports for foreign settlement—Shanghai, Canton, Amoy, Foochow and Ningpo. Opium was not mentioned in the treaty, but

the traffic was allowed to continue illegally. Then, after the Second Opium War, the traffic was legalized in 1858.

All these privileges accorded British subjects were automatically extended to all other foreigners, including the Americans, by virtue of "the most favored nation clause." Usually, by this clause the contracting powers agree to grant to the nationals of each other all the rights and privileges granted to the subjects of the most favored nation. But in China it was used as "the most *unfavored* nation clause." The powers made use of that clause as an instrument to carve up China. If one country obtained a special concession from China at the point of the sword, all other nations shared the same privilege by virtue of "the most favored nation clause," without granting the same rights and privileges to China.

Foreign Encroachment During the Taiping Rebellion

During the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64) China neglected to observe some of these treaty provisions and intentionally or unintentionally violated some of them. Meantime there arose the "Arrow" affair. The Arrow was a Chinese vessel registered at Hongkong, flying the British flag, commanded by an Irish captain with a crew of twelve Chinese. The Chinese authorities captured it off Canton on the ground that

some of the crew were pirates. The British Government demanded the release of the crew and an official apology. The Chinese returned the crew without apology. The British bombarded the Chinese *yamen,* and, taking advantage of the Taiping Rebellion, they started the Second Opium War. This time the French joined the English. The American consuls in China agreed to join the English and French, but the Washington Government stopped them, although Captain Tatnal, with his famous "Blood is thicker than water" dictum, actually rendered aid in the attack on Taku Fort. The allied forces took Peking and looted the Capital and burned the summer palace, the pride of the Celestial Empire.

China was forced to grant more privileges and concessions to the British and the French by the treaty of 1858, which followed the war. She paid a heavy indemnity to both France and England. She opened eleven new ports to foreign trade. Extraterritoriality was increased. Missionaries were permitted to buy land and erect buildings. Foreign articles of merchandise were to be exempted from *likin,* or internal transit tax, which amounted to twenty per cent, by paying two and one-half per cent additional duty at the port of entry. This arrangement gave a decided advantage to foreign articles over native products.

Foreigners, other than the British and the French,

by virtue of "the most favored nation clause," enjoyed for nothing all the privileges that the French and the British had won by war. In the English phrase, "America crawled behind British guns." The Taiping Rebellion still continued. The rebels captured fourteen out of eighteen provinces of China. The Manchu Dynasty was doomed. But the foreigners, believing that their interests would be better served if the rebellion was crushed, sided with the crumbling dynasty. Frederick T. Ward of Salem, Massachusetts, and Major Charles Gordon of the British Engineers led the Chinese army against the rebellion and brought it to an end in 1864.

During and after the rebellion imperialism crept in very steadily. The foreigners took over the Chinese customs administration during the rebellion. By the Chefoo Convention of 1876, extra ports were opened and the privileges of the foreign traders were increased. France created her sphere of influence over Annam in 1887, and England took Burma in 1886, and made Siam a buffer state in 1893. Thus China lost these tributary states to the western nations.

Foreign Encroachment After the Chino-Japanese War

In the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, China was badly defeated within seven months, and her weak-

ness was exposed. The powers then looked upon China as "a stranded whale, apparently dead, or dying," and rushed for their share of the spoils, thus bringing to pass the terrific scene of the general scramble for concessions in 1898 which caused the Boxer Rebellion in 1900.

By the Shimonoseki Treaty of 1895, which followed the Sino-Japanese War, China paid Japan an indemnity of 200,000,000 haikwan taels, ceded Formosa and Penhu Archipelago, and recognized the independence of Korea, over which state China had hitherto claimed her suzerainty. Liaotung peninsula also was to be ceded to Japan. But Russia, Germany and France thought that Japan was getting what they wanted to take, and jointly intervened in behalf of China. Japan was forced to give up Liaotung for an additional indemnity of 30,000,000 taels. In addition to all these, Japan took all the privileges and concessions previously granted to the European powers by virtue of the most-favored-nation clause inserted in that treaty.

No sooner had Japan restored Liaotung to China than Russia took it as her reward for making Japan restore it to China. By the treaty of March 27, 1898, Russia obtained the lease of Port Arthur and Talienwan located on the southern tip of Liaotung. Russia also secured a railway concession to build the trans-Siberian railway across northern Manchuria. On the

pretext that the Chinese bandits had murdered two German Catholic missionaries in Shantung, Germany seized Kiaochow in November, 1897, and acquired its lease for ninety-nine years by the convention of March 6, 1898. France, in April, 1898, obtained the lease of Kwangohouwan for ninety-nine years. Great Britain secured the lease of Kowloon on June 9, 1898, for a term of ninety-nine years, and the lease of Weihaiwei on July 1, 1898, "for so long a period as Port Arthur shall remain in the occupation of Russia."

The next step was for the powers to earmark their spheres of influence centering around their leased territories and along their railway concessions, by securing "right of priority" and "declaration of non-alienation." Creating a sphere of influence or of interest has been, according to the European practices, the first step toward annexation of that territory. France was the first country which made a breach in the principle of equal opportunity in China and secured the right of priority. By the treaty of June 9, 1885, China agreed to apply first to the French for materials in case she should construct railways in the three southern provinces of Kwang-si, Yunnan, and Kwang-tung. Furthermore, France obtained the declaration of non-alienation of the Island of Hainan on March 15, 1897, and of the territory bordering on Tongking on April 10, 1898. Great

Britain procured the declaration of non-alienation of the Yangtze Valley on February 11, 1898. Russia mapped out hers north of the Great Wall; Germany marked hers in Shantung, and Japan had hers in Fukien.

The demarkation of spheres and the creation of leased territories threatened not only the administrative entity and territorial integrity of China, but also the principle of equal opportunity for trade and commerce in China. The powers holding these spheres of influence or interests generally possessed preferential or exclusive rights, which precluded the possibility of competition on an equal footing. It was further apprehended that the powers might practice within their respective spheres discrimination in railway tonnage and tariff charges. Furthermore, the scramble for concessions and spheres brought about among the rival powers mutual antagonism and hatred which menaced the peace of the world. Such was the situation which led John Hay to formulate the Open Door policy in China. It was not, however, China's door that needed to be opened, for China, up to April, 1898, had thrown open thirty-one of her ports. It was, rather, the doors of the powers that needed to be opened.

The Open Door Policy

The Open Door means to open a country or terri-

tory for foreign commerce and trade to all nations on an equal footing. The principle of the Open Door is very old, and was practiced under the terms of free trade and the most-favored-nation clause, but the phrase itself is quite new. The term of the Open Door in relation to China was first enunciated, not by John Hay, but by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. On January 17, 1898, he said in the British Parliament that, at whatever cost, his government was absolutely determined to maintain the Open Door in China—even at the cost of war. On April 27, 1898, Sir W. V. Harcourt made the statement in Parliament that the British policy in China was to maintain the Open Door and territorial integrity. But the British government lacked the courage to make a formal declaration of the policy, because she had committed herself in the taking of spoils with the rest of the powers. It was only the United States who could take the initiative in formulating the Open Door policy.

In Washington, opinion was somewhat divided. John Sherman, Secretary of State in 1898, Cushman K. Davis and Nelson Dingley wished to have a part in the division of China if she was to be divided. But W. W. Rockhill strongly advocated an effective Open Door policy. Consequently, he drew up a memorandum dated August 28, 1899, and sent it to John Hay. The Rockhill memorandum became the

basis of the Open Door policy formulated by Secretary Hay on September 6, 1899. Secretary Hay set forth three essential points:

"First: That no nation will in anywise interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called 'sphere of interest' or leased territory it may have in China.

"Second: That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said 'sphere of interest' (unless they be free ports), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese government.

"Third: That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such 'sphere' than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its 'sphere' on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such 'sphere' than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances."

Hay's Open Door, as formulated in his first note, did not interfere with the spheres or leased territories already created or being created. It rather recognized the existence of those spheres, for, in the first place, it was the best he could do under those prevailing circumstances. In the second place, John

Hay thought at that time that the recognition of spheres would not interfere with the maintenance of the Open Door. For these reasons he did not say much about the administrative entity and territorial integrity of China, but before long he found that without preserving Chinese territorial and administrative entity, the Open Door was impracticable. Therefore, in his second note of July 3, 1900, John Hay asked the powers to respect China's territorial integrity and administrative entity.

The Boxer Rebellion

Alarmed at the continued aggression of the foreigners, the Boxers rebelled in 1900, intending to drive out all "foreign devils," and to close her door to the rest of the world. Her violation of the law of nations in an unwarranted assault on the foreign legations and in a general massacre of foreign inhabitants during the fanatic uprising gave the powers a good excuse to encroach upon the Empire. The Boxer Rebellion, instead of excluding them, had the effect of inviting the usurpers to finish the partition of the Empire. The powers despatched their troops to China to put down the rebellion. In a speech delivered to German Marines who were to be sent to China, Wilhelm Hohenzollern said:

"You must know, my men, that you are about to

meet a crafty, well-armed, cruel foe! Meet him, and beat him! Give no quarter! Take no prisoners! Kill him, when he falls into your hands! Even as, a thousand years ago, the Huns under their King Attila made such a name for themselves as still resounds in terror through legend and fable, so may the name of Germany resound through Chinese history a thousand years from now, and may you so conduct yourselves that no Chinaman will ever again so much as dare to look crooked at a German!"

The Boxers were cruel to the foreigners and they deserved condign punishment, but the foreigners were more brutal than the cruel Boxers. The foreigners forgot that it was the foreign aggression which caused the Boxers' uprising. They crushed China without mercy and punished her so severely that the Chinese Empire never recovered from the effect. China was forced to pay an indemnity of 450,000,000 haikwan taels, demolish the Taku Forts, defending the mouth of the Peiho River, commanding the approach to Peking. China granted the powers the right to station their troops for the protection of their citizens and the right to fortify their legation quarter right at the capital of China. One of the reasons for the removal of the capital by the nationalists from Peking to Nanking was their desire to get rid of the armed citadel at Peking.

The Russian Invasion

From the Boxer Rebellion to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, Russia was the chief aggressor of China. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the princes of Russia made an overland journey of 3,000 miles from Moscow to Peking to offer homage and tribute at the Court of Mongol. But from the sixteenth century Russia did not look upon China as her suzerain; she rather regarded China as a land of exploitation. As early as 1581 Russia occupied Siberia. In 1689 she concluded a treaty with China in which a reciprocal grant of extra-territoriality on the basis of equality was agreed upon. During the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), when England and France were wrestling with China for special privileges and concessions, Russia posed as a friend of China, and for that pretended friendly pose, she took in 1860 the Amur and Maritime Provinces of China. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, Japan was to take Liaotung for compensation. But Russia, France and Germany jointly intervened and forced Japan to restore it to China. For that intervention Russia obtained the right to build a railway across the northern part of Manchuria, the right to administer the same for thirty-six years, the right to quarter troops for the protection of the property, and the right to exploit mines along the railway line. By the convention of March 27, 1898, she secured the right

to construct a railroad from Harbin to Port Arthur, and the lease of Liaotung, the very spot which she had forced Japan to restore to China three years before that, for a term of twenty-five years. Thus Russia's dream of securing an ice-free seaport in the Baltic and Mediterranean seas was realized in the Yellow Sea.

Then Russia set out to colonize Manchuria. The Russo-Asiatic Bank and the Yellow Timber Company were organized by the Czar. Russia intended to absorb the whole of China through these companies as England conquered India through the British East India Company.

The Boxer Rebellion gave Russia a golden opportunity. Under the pretext of guarding the railway, she poured her troops into Mukden and captured the Newchwang customs house on August 4, 1900. At the same time that her soldiers were continuing to entrench in Manchuria, Russia again disguised herself as a friend to China, and by so doing she hoped to win the cession of Manchuria. To this end, while the allies were negotiating the final protocol of peace, on November 22, 1900, she entered into a secret agreement. That secret Manchurian convention concluded between representatives of Tseng Chi, a Tartar general, and Vice-Admiral Alexieff, commander of the Russian Pacific squadron, was dis-

covered by Dr. Morrison, Peking correspondent of the *London Times*.

According to the terms of the agreement, Manchuria was to be made a *de facto* Russian protectorate. The Province of Fengtian was to be disarmed, its military government to be vested in Russian hands and its civil government to be under the supervision of a Russian political resident to be stationed at Mukden. China was prohibited from employing foreign instructors, other than Russians, to drill troops in north China. Exclusive mining rights and construction of railways in Manchuria, Mongolia, Tarfagatai, Ili, Kashgar, Yarkland, and Khoten, as well as the right to build a railroad from the Russian-Manchurian line to the Great Wall, were granted to Russia.

No sooner was the secret agreement known than Japan, Great Britain, and the United States protested to Russia, although France supported her, and Germany, while joining the powers in formal protest, gave her whole-hearted approval of Russia's policy in Manchuria.

On account of these protests, however, Russia failed to see her sinister designs in Manchuria realized. Finally, on March 26, 1902, she concluded a convention with China, pledging her word to evacuate Manchuria in three successive periods, but when the specified date for the first stage of evacuation

came, she withdrew her troops from that part which she had agreed to evacuate, and she concentrated the withdrawn troops in other strategic centers of Manchuria where she was yet permitted to remain. When, however, the date for the second stage of evacuation arrived, she not only did not fulfill her agreement, but presented Seven Articles as conditions for further evacuation, demanding the non-alienation of Manchuria, the consent of Russia for the opening of Manchuria to foreign trade and the admission of consuls, and the exclusive appointment of Russians to public service in Manchuria and Mongolia. Thereupon, Great Britain, Japan and the United States protested.

In spite of these protests, Russia determined to force her seven demands upon China by force, if necessary. She poured her troops into Manchuria until the number reached 45,000. They occupied Liao-yang, Fenghangching, and Antung, and garrisoned some fifty other points. At this time Japan was most desperate against Russian usurpation, partly for fear of her own safety and partly because of the unbearable humiliation she had received from Russia in 1895 when the latter interfered with Japanese occupation of Liaotung for her indemnity. In vain Japan protested to Russia. The latter would not listen, and finally the two fought it out, which settled the problem of Russian encroachment upon

China. As a result of the war, Russia was driven out and Japan became the chief aggressor of China, until the Washington conference in 1921-22.

The Yellow Man's Invasion

Japan did not fight Russia for fun; she fought for business. By the Portsmouth treaty of 1905, Japan took all the former Russian rights in Manchuria, and then she obtained more rights from China by concluding open and secret treaties with that country. Japan's position was greatly strengthened by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and from the start Japan proved to be a greater aggressor of China than Russia. Her aggression reached its climax during the World War. Left alone, unembroiled in the European conflagration, and not bothered by outside interference, Japan attempted to gobble up the whole of China.

When the Chinese Government expressed its desire to expel the Germans from Shantung in August, 1914, shortly after the outbreak of the war, Japan opposed it, declaring that it would cause great complications. Having opposed China's declaration of war, with a solemn pledge that she would eventually restore Shantung to China, Japan herself voluntarily drove out the Germans. She did this not for charity, but for her selfish designs. Shortly after Japan's occupation of Shantung, Premier Okuma again de-

clared Japan's intention of eventually restoring it to China: "My government and people have given their word and their pledge, which will be as honorably kept as Japan always keeps her promise."

During her attack of Shantung, Japan violated China's neutrality, to which she gave her pledge in 1905. She landed her troops and operated the campaign in the neutral soil of China and created a war zone outside of the German lease. Tsingtso, or Kiaochow, surrendered to Japan on November 7, 1914, but she did not cancel the war zone until January, 1915. She penetrated the interior parts of Shantung instead of withdrawing her troops. China became quite nervous about Japan's aggression, and on January 7, 1915, she asked the cancellation of the war zone. This request was met by Japan with her infamous Twenty-One Demands presented on January 18, 1915. These demands were embodied in five groups:

The first group related to Shantung. It included railway concessions, non-alienation of the coast of Shantung, opening of more cities to trade, and, above all, China's assent to any arrangement Japan might make with Germany at the end of the war relating to the German rights in Shantung.

The second group dealt with south Manchuria and eastern inner Mongolia. Japan demanded the extension of the lease of Port Arthur and Dalny, and

of the South Manchuria Railway and Antung-Mukden Railway to ninety-nine years; the right to lease and own land and to open mines and to engage in any business, manufacturing and farming; the consent of the Japanese Government to the pledging of local taxes as securities for any railway concession to a third power; and the employment of Japanese advisers to serve as political, financial, or military instructors in the areas specified.

The third group referred to the Hanyehping Company, a Chinese firm engaged in iron and coal mining in Yangtze Valley region. Japan demanded joint partnership in the company and the monopoly by the said company of the mines located in the neighborhood of those owned by the said firm.

The fourth group demanded that China should not alienate or lease to other countries any port, harbor, or island on the coast of China. If granted, this would mean the creation of a Japanese sphere along the whole coast of China.

The fifth group, the worst of all, demanded the employment of Japanese advisers in Chinese political, financial and military affairs; the right to own land by the Japanese hospitals, churches and schools in the interior of China; the joint administration by Japanese and Chinese of the police at important places; the purchase of a fixed amount of ammunition from Japan (fifty per cent or more), or the

joint establishment of an arsenal in China; railway concessions from Wuchang to Kinchang and Nanchang, from Nanchang to Hangchow, and from Nanchang to Chaochou; the exclusive right of the economic development of Kukien; and the right of Japanese Buddhist missionary propaganda in China.

What do these demands mean? If China had yielded to these demands, the whole of China would have been entirely absorbed by Japan, or, at the best, she would have become a protectorate or a vassal state of the Japanese Empire. Yet, in presenting these demands, Japan said that she did it for the maintenance of peace and friendship between China and Japan.

At first, Japan presented her demands in secrecy and forced China to an immediate acceptance secretly, but unfortunately for Japan the news leaked out. However, when other nations made inquiries about the demands, Japan denied their existence and presented to the world only eleven articles, omitting the most important ones, particularly Group V. As negotiations lagged, Japan, on April 26, 1915, presented her revised demands embodied in twenty-four articles, including virtually the same provisions as were in the Twenty-One Demands.

During the entire period of the negotiations, which lasted almost four months and in which there were twenty-five conferences and sessions, China had

to deal with Japan single-handed. Taking advantage of the lack of support by other powers, Japan pressed her claims by the bayonet. She sent an ultimatum, demanding China's acceptance within forty-eight hours. Finally, China was obliged to grant Japan's demands. On May 25, 1915, two treaties were concluded—one respecting Shantung and the other relating to south Manchuria and eastern inner Mongolia. Besides, thirteen notes were exchanged between China and Japan concerning the remaining points. China accepted all the articles in Groups One, Two, Three and Four, and the articles on Fukien in Group Five, which, in the course of successive negotiations, was changed from a demand for an exclusive Japanese sphere of interest in the original Twenty-One Demands, to a prohibition of the construction by any foreign power of naval or military base, or the use of foreign capital for such construction. All the articles in the original Group Five, excepting the one just mentioned, were omitted from the treaties, but they were reserved by Japan for later negotiations. Japan definitely gave up the reservations at the Washington Conference. The third group, dealing with the Hanyehping Company, was slightly modified. Japan reserved the demand for joint partnership in the company, but waived the demand for monopoly by the said company of the mines in neighboring Yangtze Valley region. To

the first group, dealing with Shantung, new articles were added in which Japan outlined the conditions of returning Shantung to China.

Immediately after the conclusion of the treaties, Japan started to put these treaty rights into effect. At the same time she attempted to force other nations to support her rights secured through these treaties. She made a secret treaty with Russia on July 3, 1916, in which each pledged to support the interests of the other against domination by any third power. In the spring of 1917, when the Allied powers were in an unfavorable situation, Japan secretly approached the governments of Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy. Promising those powers to use their influence to bring China to the Allied side, Japan sought their pledges to support her interests and rights in Kiaochow at the peace conferences to be convened later. After having made a series of secret pledges with the powers, she finally turned to the United States and induced the latter to recognize her special interests in China. To this end the Lansing-Ishii Agreement was signed on November 2, 1917, in which Japan gave her usual "lip-service" to the Open Door doctrine, and the United States recognized the "special interests" of Japan in China. Without knowing the real motives of Japan, Secretary Lansing thought he was

making Japan reaffirm the Open Door Doctrine. But Japan interpreted the Lansing-Ishii Agreement as a formal sanction of the Twenty-One Demands by the United States. This agreement finally was abrogated after the Washington Conference.

With these treaties and secret agreements Japan appeared at the Versailles Peace Conference. From the beginning to the end, China insisted upon the abrogation of the treaties of 1915 on the ground that they were made under coercion and extortion. But the powers, being bound by their secret pledges to support Japan, could not help China. The United States sided with China, but finally when Japan intimidated the Conference by the threat of withdrawal if her rights in Shantung were not fully protected, President Wilson yielded to her. Thus, in the face of the stubborn opposition of the Chinese delegates the Conference granted Japan's claims in Shantung. By Articles 156, 157 and 158 of the Peace Treaty, Germany renounced in favor of Japan all her rights, titles and privileges, particularly those concerning the territory of Kiaochow; railways, mines, and submarine cables.

Japanese imperialism manifested in China during and after the World War aroused the Chinese national conscience. All the Chinese, from ignorant coolies to eminent statesmen, arose like one man to fight Japanese imperialism. But how could they

fight? China is not a military power. They could not declare a war on Japan but they found a new weapon, a peaceful one, but a powerful, irresistible one in modern times—the Boycott Movement. I was in China at the time and was an eyewitness to the movement. The students, who were the vanguards of the movement, rushed into every store and seized all the Japanese manufactured articles and made bon-fires of them. They carried off several Japanese books that I had in my room and burned them.

As a result, within a year the Japanese commerce was reduced to a half. If it had continued, Japan would have been forced to commit economic suicide. It must be remembered that seventy-five per cent of the articles manufactured in Japan are being sold in China. This was the governing factor, undoubtedly, which led the Japanese government to return Shantung Province to China at the time of the Washington Conference in 1921-1922.

One of the chief objects of the Washington Conference was to curb Japanese aggression in China. The powers, including Japan, agreed at the conference to observe the principles of the Open Door Doctrine in China and to respect China's territorial integrity, political independence and administrative entity. They further agreed to debar the practice of spheres of influence and to prohibit the enjoyment of monopolies and preferences abridging the rights of

other nationals. Through the good offices of Lord Balfour and Secretary Hughes, an agreement was made at Washington between China and Japan by which the latter restored Shantung to China on December 10, 1922. But she stood firm in regard to her rights in Manchuria.

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CHAPTER IX

British Imperialism

The Shanghai Affair

AFTER the Washington Conference, the Anti-Japanese Movement was gradually changed into the anti-British agitation. The Chinese forgot to hate the Japanese; they hated, not only the English people, but all those who look like the English, with fair skin and a big nose. Why did they dislike the good English people? The average layman thinks that Russia stirred up the ignorant coolies and created all the anti-British sentiment. Yes, the Soviet agents are responsible for a part of the anti-British agitation. But the real anti-Britishers were neither the Bolshevists nor the Chinese; they were the English themselves.

In the winter of 1923 when the Nationalist Government at Canton announced that the customs surplus at Canton, then collected by foreigners, should be turned over to the Cantonese Government instead of turning it over to Peking, the British Minister requested his government to mobilize some twenty battleships to station outside of Canton for the purpose of prohibiting the nationalists from ex-

ecuting their order. In the summer of 1924, the Canton Chamber of Merchants purchased ammunition to oust the Nationalist Government from Canton. Naturally, the authorities attempted to suppress the Merchants Party. The British consul-general at Canton sent a note amounting to an ultimatum stating that if the Canton Government attacked the Merchants Party the British Navy would turn the guns on them. And so the Chinese kept silence. It was not, however, until May, 1925, that the Anti-British Movement invited the attention of the world.

What Happened in China in May, 1925?

At that time there were going on many labor strikes in China, especially in Shanghai. Why strikes?

There are about 8,000 foreign firms and factories in China. The important ones are cotton textile factories, tobacco factories and Oriental rug factories. I had the opportunity to visit some of these factories. With few exceptions, the working conditions are notoriously bad. Wages are incredibly low. The minimum wage for women and children is as low as a penny for all-day's work from twelve to sixteen hours. The wage for adults runs from the minimum of one and a half cents to the maximum of fifty cents a day. Although the purchasing power of a dollar is greater in China than in America, the aver-

age wage is below the minimum requirement for sustenance.

Most of these factories make a huge profit. Paul Hutchinson points out in "China's Real Revolution" that the annual profit of a big textile factory exceeded its total capital on at least three occasions.

The workers organized labor unions and waged many strikes to better their conditions. But, as it has already been noted, the Chinese do not resort to force or violence in a strike. It is rather the foreign capitalists who resort to force. This, at least, was the case in May, 1925.

The workers in the Naigai Wata Mills, a Japanese cotton factory in Shanghai, went out on strike. A Japanese foreman shot and killed a Chinese striker. This murder occurred in the international concession where the rule of the alien is absolute. But the foreign municipal authorities paid no attention whatever. Not even a coroner's examination was made. The students, who know something about justice and humanity, went out on the streets and made speeches denouncing foreign imperialism. Six of the speech-makers were arrested by the foreign police force for disturbing the peace and were locked up in the Louza police station. You will readily see the ridiculous conduct of the alien rulers.

Shooting and killing of the innocent Chinese by the foreigner did not disturb the peace, in their eyes,

but the harmless speech-making of the students disturbed the peace to such an extent that they were locked up.

On May 30, 1925, two days after the arrest, 3,000 students stormed the Louza police station, demanding the release of the six students. Inspector Everson, a British subject, with a troop of the Sikh police force appeared on the scene and commanded the crowd to disperse within ten seconds. He gave the command, not in Chinese, but in English. It is safe to say, ninety-five per cent of the crowd could not understand a word he said. Even though they understood, the time was too short for them to disperse, for the crowd was still pushing from the outside. At the end of ten seconds, the law-abiding Englishman ordered the police to shoot. Forty shots were fired point-blank through the chests of those unarmed students, killing eleven and wounding seventeen.

After the shooting, the honorable gentleman vindicated himself by the plea of self-defense. He claimed it was the only way open to him. His fellow countrymen defended him, and his government also extended its protection.

"They (the foreigners) killed the unarmed students," wrote the editor of the *Nation* (June 17, 1925), "in order to uphold the prestige of the foreigners. They took charge of the city; they rushed

warships, marines and soldiers to the front. They have gone a step further; they have blamed the incident entirely upon the Bolsheviki, as in 1914-18 they were blaming every untoward happening upon German intriguers. This is all according to the style of western diplomacy."

When the news of the deliberate official massacre was published, the whole country was aflame with anti-British sentiment. The situation was made worse by the Canton Massacre.

The Canton Massacre

The sentiment in Canton being as strong as in the rest of the cities, a great demonstration in protest of the Shanghai shooting was carried out on June 23, 1925. Many thousands of people led by the Whampoa cadets paraded the streets, singing, shouting and denouncing British imperialism.

Canton is divided from Shameen, the foreign settlement, by a hundred-foot-wide canal and bridges are built across the canal. On the Shameen side of the bank, the foreigners piled up sandbags as a measure of protection against the Chinese. When the anti-British demonstration across the canal was reaching its height, the English and French became very nervous and prepared for anything, even for war.

During this great demonstration, a shot suddenly

rang out, followed by two more shots. Nobody knew who fired them. Nobody knew from where and what direction they were fired. The multitude, however, was frightened and horrified. They ran hither and thither like a herd of lambs before the wolf.

At this moment, the foreigners across the canal, hidden behind the sandbags, calmly aimed their machine guns toward the horrified crowd and mowed them down in cold blood. Fifty-two were instantly slain and one hundred and seventeen were fatally wounded. In vain the cadets tried to answer the machine guns by firing against the inoffensive sandbags!

After the massacre, the British people vindicated their action; they informed the world that what they did was absolutely necessary for their defense against the Chinese attack on Shameen. But where was the attack?

The foreigners held that those three shots were fired first by the Chinese. No one yet knows who fired those shots, but since the cadets were armed that time it is probable that those shots were fired by the Chinese toward the settlement, although no one was hurt. The Chinese authorities, however, have never admitted that the Chinese fired first.

During an interview with Dr. Daniel, a former missionary in Nanking, China, an interesting story was told: Mr. Kepler, another well-known missionary in Nanking, met in Hankow a Christian Chinese

friend of his, who was employed by the Hankow Nationalist Government at that time. When Mr. Kepler asked him if he knew that the Chinese fired first, his friend replied, "Of course I do." "Then why do you deny it?" asked Mr. Kepler. "Because I am paid for doing it," was his answer.

I have no doubt about the moral integrity of Dr. Daniel or Mr. Kepler, but the story is of such nature that I can hardly accept it unconditionally. I leave this to the reader's judgment. At any rate the Britishers and the Chinese look at the incident from different angles; they will never agree; the twain shall never meet. Whether the Chinese agree with them or not, the Britishers call it the Shameen Attack, although not a single Chinese tried to cross the bridge. The Chinese call it the Shakee Massacre, for the incident occurred on the Shakee Road in Canton.

The Wanhsien Bombardment

Hills after hills and blunder after blunder. The foreigners would not let the Chinese alone. They constantly provoked them to anger as the horseman makes the wild horses wilder in a rodeo. The Wanhsien destruction turned the situation from bad to worse.

Wanhsien is a city of 100,000 inhabitants located about 1,200 miles from the mouth of the Yangtze River. Civil war was raging there. In spite of the

civil war, the Britishers wanted to carry on their trade protected by their gunboats.

General Yang-sen, a subordinate general of Wu Pei-fu, an enemy of the nationalists, being on friendly terms with the British Government and people, customarily used the British steamers for transport. While the steamer Wanliu, belonging to the Butterfield and Swire Company, was in Yung-yang, a port still higher up in the river, two Chinese sampans loaded with soldiers and money came alongside the Wanliu seeking to be transported to other points. The captain knew it and refused to carry them. He suddenly speeded up the vessel and sailed away. The two sampans were capsized by the big waves created by the propeller, consequently the soldiers were drowned and the money, amounting to $85,000 (probably over-estimated), was lost.

General Yang was very angry. He arrested two other steamers, Wantung and Wanhsien, belonging to the same company, and held them at Wanhsien for final settlement. The widely circulated story that General Yang arrested the steamers because the Britishers delivered ammunition by mistake to the Kuomintang army, the enemies of General Yang, seems to be a mere rumor.

The next question was how to solve the difficulty thus created.

When the captain of the Cockchafer, a British

gunboat, approached General Yang-sen, the latter refused to negotiate, insisting that he must negotiate with the British consul at Chunkiang. The moment of his arrival, the British consul demanded the immediate release of the steamers and their officers as a preliminary step toward negotiation. This demand was refused. The refusal was too great an insult for the officers to endure.

On September 5, 1926, they sent two gunboats, Cockchafer and Widgeon, and an armed merchant vessel, the Kiawo, to rescue them by force. The Chinese soldiers were utterly unaware of this murderous scheme. While dining aboard the two arrested steamers they were suddenly attacked by the gunboats. Leaving their chopsticks, they took up their rifles in defense, but it was too late; and as a result the steamers were strewn with their corpses.

Meantime, batteries were ringing on both sides of the river. The gunboats turned their machine guns toward the defenseless city of Wanhsien, and destroyed fifty houses and killed about 2,000 innocent men, women and children.

All this inhuman barbarism was executed in the name of self-defense and in the guise of protection of citizens abroad. The British authorities at the time did not tell their government and people at home the truth about the affair. News was published in the *London Times* and *Manchester Guardian,* ex-

aggerating the killing and wounding of several British officers and marines, but nothing was said, not even mentioned, about the killing of 2,000 Chinese! (The number of Chinese casualties is probably overestimated. Some casual observers hold that the damage done to Wanhsien was not as serious as reported.)

A letter signed by the Speaker of Wanhsien District Assembly, Chairman of Wanhsien Educational Association and the President of the Chamber of Commerce, reads in part as follows:

"The negotiations for a peaceful settlement were still going on and had not ended, when suddenly, about 4 P.M., the Wanhsien people found themselves under heavy fire from the armed British merchantman Kiawo and the two gunboats, Widgeon and Cockchafer. Shells dropped like showers. Houses crumbled like avalanches. The city went aflame at once. Women and children, if not burned alive or drowned, were torn to pieces."

This, too was perhaps exaggerated. We may compare it with other accounts. Mr. R. Gilbert, a British journalist, wrote on September 13, 1926, a detailed account of the bombardment in the *North China Daily News*. He concluded by saying, "probably no more sanguinary battle has ever been fought in Chinese waters. About forty-six shells were dropped into the town, which in a short time was in parts a raging

inferno of fire . . . . the picture of the destruction does not belong to this age; it belongs to the eighteenth century when muzzle-to-muzzle fighting was the rule."

Thus a small group of British soldiers and exploiters, without the knowledge of their fellow-countrymen at home, without the consent of their government, committed a great crime, not only against the Chinese, but against their own nation.

The shooting of Shanghai students, the massacre of Canton demonstrators and the destruction of Wanhsien cannot be justly called British policy, for those outrages were committed by the British subjects on the spot. But that does not make a particle of difference to the Chinese. To them there is no difference between the British exploiters in China and the English people and their government in general, because the government is led to support the practices of the local authorities, however atrocious they may be.

Against all these wanton butcheries, China had no way of redress. Diplomacy for a weak nation like China was merely a joke and a declaration of war against the world's strongest power would be like throwing an empty bottle against a stonewall. There was left for China only one recourse—the old weapon of the strike and the boycott.

After the Shanghai and Canton Massacres, more

than 500,000 clerks, cooks and domestic servants of various kinds quit work. A vigorous boycott was carried out against all forms of British commodities. Consequently, British manufactured articles rotted away in the storages and warehouses of Hongkong, Canton and Shanghai. Meantime, the Japanese and other nationals reaped all the profits which the British traders lost. The boycott affected the business of the English merchants to such an extent that they were forced to change their attitude and policy toward China. It was under such circumstances that the British Government proposed its new liberal policy toward China in December, 1926.

The dominant desire on the part of the British merchants to resume trade relations can be well illustrated by the following incident: Canton was closed for sixteen months to British ships. The Canton Government notified the powers that it would open the port on October 10, 1926, to foreign ships on the condition that the foreign vessels pay higher custom duties as required by the Canton Government.

The consular body at Canton immediately protested in the name of the foreign governments against the rise of duties. Whereupon the Cantonese foreign minister replied that since the powers did not recognize his government, he could not accept their protest. Why? An unrecognized government legally

does not exist. How can a non-existing government accept a protest? When they recognize the Canton Government, he said, his government will be glad to discuss the matter with them.

The British Government advised the merchants not to ship their articles to Canton so long as the high illegal customs duty was imposed by the Canton Government. But when the port was opened, the British vessels swamped Canton by paying the high duties against the advice of their own government; for even then they could make profits, and it was better than having the goods rot away in storage.

The commercial motive was the backbone of the whole proposal, but it is strange that few British writers ever mention this dynamic force in connection with the new policy. Whatever may be the motive, the proposal itself is one of the most generous pieces of diplomatic literature in modern times.

The New British Policy

In that memorandum of December 18, released for publication on December 25, 1926, Great Britain urged the powers to put in practice the principles of the Washington Convention including early revision of unequal treaties, of extra-territoriality, tariff autonomy and the immediate application of surtaxes and custom duties foreseen in that document. It was also suggested that the sums realized need not be

paid into the account of the customs department or to the custodian of banks in Shanghai, but could in each case be freely disposed of by competent Chinese local authorities, whatever their party allegiance. (Text of Memorandum, *Current History,* February, 1927.)

The powers were reluctant to support the memorandum for the reason that their commercial interest would be affected in case Great Britain gained the good-will of the Chinese through the successful application of the memorandum. France took the customary course of opposing the British proposals. Belgium's foreign minister welcomed it. Italy approved it willy-nilly. Japan outwardly sympathized with it while giving it unwelcome reception internally. The United States formally welcomed it, but did not support the proposal.

All these powers are guilty of considering only their own selfish interests. Jealousy and rivalry among the powers scattered the memorandum to the winds. Mr. Glasgow said that Washington was not enthusiastic, and was rather shocked because Washington newspapers did not publish the memorandum before London newspapers. What is true of Washington papers is not true of other American papers. For, though the English papers published the document on December 26, 1926, *The Chicago Tribune*

published it on December 23, although most other papers published it by December 27.

Strangely enough, the Chinese Nationalist Government also opposed the proposal. Eugene Chen denounced the memorandum as a hypocritical document designed to play into the hands of the northern war lords and he warned the powers by saying that two-thirds of the revenue thus raised would go into Peking "like raw meat to beasts of prey."

The unreasonableness of Mr. Chen's position taken on this point is immeasurable. He knew, of course, that Great Britain could not recognize his government as the only government of China. He himself recognized the fact that the authority of the Kuomintang Government did not extend over one-third of the country. The British proposal that the sums thus raised could be disposed of by competent Chinese local authorities would mean the *de facto* recognition of his government within the area of its control. That was, in fact, all Great Britain could do and all a reasonable man could ask for. Eugene Chen, of course, had to consult with his more radical colleagues but the course he took was beyond the range of a wise statesman.

While the proposal of December 18, 1926, was still being discussed in different capitals, Sir Austen Chamberlain drew up another memorandum, further defining the British policy, and dispatched it to the

Chinese authorities at Peking and Hankow on January 27-28, 1927:

1. His Majesty's Government is prepared to recognize the modern Chinese law courts as the competent courts for cases brought by British plaintiffs or complainants, and to waive the right of attendance of a British representative at the hearing of such cases.

2. His Majesty's Government is prepared to recognize the validity of a reasonable Chinese Nationality Law.

3. His Majesty's Government is prepared to apply as far as practicable in British courts in China the modern Chinese civil and commercial codes (apart from procedure codes and those affecting personal status) and duly enacted subordinate legislations as and when such laws and regulations are promulgated and enforced in Chinese courts and on Chinese citizens throughout China.

4. His Majesty's Government is prepared to make British subjects in China liable to pay such regular and legal Chinese taxation, not involving discrimination against British subjects or British goods, as is, in fact, imposed on and paid by Chinese citizens throughout China.

5. His Majesty's Government is prepared, as soon as the revised Chinese penal code is promulgated and applied in Chinese courts, to consider its application in British courts in China.

6. His Majesty's Government is prepared to discuss and enter into arrangements, according to the particular circumstances at each port concerned, for

the modification of the municipal administration of British concessions so as to bring them into line with the administrations of the special Chinese administrations set up in former concessions, or for their amalgamation with former concessions now under Chinese control, or for the transfer of police control of the concession areas to the Chinese authorities.

7. His Majesty's Government is prepared to accept the principle that British missionaries should no longer claim the right to purchase land in the interior; that Chinese converts should look to Chinese law and not to treaties for protection and that missionary, educational and medical institutions will conform to Chinese laws and regulations applying to similar Chinese institutions.

The Hankow Incident

Just ten days after the inauguration of the new policy, there arose in Hankow an occasion to test the sincerity of that policy. A Chinese mob attacked the British concession by force. The incident was most clearly summarized by Mr. Glasgow (*Contemporary,* February, 1927):

"On the evening of January 3rd a squad of British marines stood at the end of the Hankow Bund, where a mob of several thousand Chinese patriots, Russian Bolshevists and general hooligans pelted them with stones and other missiles. They stood their ground for four hours. It was as rotten a mob as mobs can be. The British sailors had rifles and ammunition. They fixed bayonets and charged back the mob. One Chinaman was killed. (The statement

that one Chinaman was killed is not true. Only two Chinese were wounded.) One bluejacket fell in the melee and was bayoneted through the leg with his own bayonet, which the mob seized for the purpose. For four hours the mob pressed forward, and for four hours some two dozen bluejackets offered themselves as unresisting targets. Not a shot was fired. It became known later that the refusal to shoot was a deliberate decision of policy taken by the British authorities. . . . The object at Hankow was to save defenseless British men, women and children from massacre at the hands of the mob. If the bluejackets had fired on the mob, the likely result would have been to incite it to wholesale massacre. By not firing and, instead, by retiring and evacuating the concession, they saved the British nationalists from all harm."

The discretion of the consul-general and the naval commander and the conduct of the British marines who suffered the insults and the bricks of the mob without shooting at them, deserve great praise. A marine is a marine. The mob spat in his face, but the marine did not use his rifle. Few men can do likewise under those circumstances. This was, however, the first incident in recent times that British subjects in China used their brains instead of their fists. The peaceful conduct of the marines cannot be commended too highly. They refrained from shooting, not because they had some regard for the lives of the Chinese, but because they feared that all the

British subjects might be slaughtered if they fired at the mob.

The foregoing occurred on January 3. On the following day the British naval forces were withdrawn. The Chinese entered the concession and hauled down the British flag. On the 7th a temporary agreement was reached by which the concession was to be controlled by the Chinese authorities, under supervision of British officers, employing a Chinese police force. On January 11, Mr. O'Malley, Acting Charge d'Affaires at Peking, arrived at Hankow. Negotiations were begun between O'Malley, the Irishman, and Chen, the English Chinaman. The negotiations were chiefly involved with the question of the future status of the British Hankow concession. Chen refused to negotiate as soon as he heard of the dispatch of troops from England. But, finally, he signed the agreement on February 19, 1927.

On February 21, Sir Austen Chamberlain, who had been waiting patiently for a telegram from China, hurried to the House of Commons and read the following text of the agreement:

"The proper British authorities will summon the annual general meeting of ratepayers in accordance with the Land Regulation on March 15. The British municipality will thereupon be dissolved, and the administration of the concession area will be formally handed over to the new Chinese municipality. Pending the handing over to the new Chinese mu-

nicipality on March 15, the policing of the concessions and the management of the public works and sanitation will be conducted by the Chinese authorities now in charge thereof. The Nationalist Government will, upon the dissolution of the British council, forthwith set up a special Chinese municipality modelled on that of the special administrative district for the administration of the concession area under regulations which will be communicated to His Britannic Majesty's minister by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government. These regulations will remain in force until such time as arrangements have been negotiated for the amalgamation of the five Hankow concessions into one unified municipal district."

The British Hankow concession was handed over to the Chinese on March 15 as agreed upon. Three British members and four Chinese members, one of whom is the chairman, formed the council of the new special corporation. The transaction took place without incident in a strictly businesslike manner. Similar arrangements were made in regard to the British concession in Kiukiang. The Canton Government did not keep up the agreement and after the Nanking incident there was considerable agitation for the reoccupation of the Hankow concession, but this plan was dropped.

The imperialists at home were entirely dissatisfied with the business. They believed that the British lion

played the rabbit, and attacked the government's policy vigorously.

The Defense of Shanghai

By the end of January, the storm center was removed from Hankow to Shanghai as the nationalists had driven out the northern militarists and were threatening to capture Shanghai. Should Shanghai be evacuated as was Hankow? Unlike Hankow, Shanghai is an international settlement. Britain gained a concession in 1845; France in 1849, and America in 1862. The French concession was once annexed to the international concession but before long it seceded and until today it remains as an independent community. The American and British concessions were amalgamated and now is known as the International Settlement.

Secretary Kellogg's statement that the United States has no concession in China caused quite a sensational discussion there and in England. Mr. Kellogg in attempting to make a distinction between concessions and settlements said that the American portion of the international concession is only an American settlement. But there is virtually no distinction between the two terms as used in China. The diplomatic corps at Peking use the two terms interchangeably. In reality, the international concession is as much American as it is English.

The Municipal Council consists of six British, one Japanese and two Americans, of whom one is chairman of the council. The Americans enjoy all the rights and privileges of the British. This shows that the United States has a concession in China in practice, although she has none in theory.

The nature of the international settlement in Shanghai is such that it cannot be evacuated without consulting with other nations. Besides, in Shanghai, the number of British is much larger than in Hankow—8,000 British, 4,000 Americans, out of a total foreign population of 30,000 in Shanghai. The British Government, therefore, decided to defend Shanghai at any cost. And as early as January 15, "the first cruiser squadron was ordered to stand by in readiness to proceed to China if so required."

The dispatch of 20,000 British troops was ordered to Shanghai from different parts of the British Empire for the protection of 8,000 British subjects. The government made a public statement that Great Britain is on friendly terms with China and denied any new decision of policy or contemplation of any warlike measure on the part of the government.

On this point some critics ridiculed the incongruous combination of gunboats and friendship: "England is on friendly terms with China and as a proof of that friendship, she sent twelve battleships to China."

The question of defense policy was bitterly debated in Parliament. "Why must Great Britain protect the concessions?" asked Sir Austen Chamberlain at the House of Commons. "Why do we have these concessions at all? Why do we talk of treaty ports? Because there is no equality of treatment at the present day between the Chinese in England and the British citizens in China. A Chinaman can come here and settle in any part of the country; he can be sure of justice. Chinese have been settled here and are settled in our great towns; they enjoy freedom and the justice which we enjoy, can move freely about our country, and own property in our country. No foreigner can own property in China outside these special concessions, and there is no equality for us under the present system."

The Liberals supported the Cabinet policy but the Labor Party denounced the dispatch of troops. Lloyd George, the leader of the Liberal Party, declared in Parliament on February 8, that he was delighted with the course taken by the Prime Minister regarding China and cordially approved of the policy of Sir Austen Chamberlain.

Ramsay MacDonald, the leader of the Labor Party, admitted Great Britain's responsibility in protecting her citizens. He stood against the evacuation of Shanghai, but regarded the dispatch of troops as

"playing with fire." He believed in negotiation instead of sending troops.

Mr. Clynes, another member of the Labor Party, said in Parliament that the British subjects would be safer under the influence of negotiation than behind British regiments.

Mr. MacDonald strongly wanted to attack the movement of the troops but he could not, because when he was Premier he allowed the presence of British forces in Tientsin.

George Hicks of the Labor Party bitterly denounced the government policy:

"The Britishers whom the government are so anxious to protect in China are not bricklayers, engineers, or manual workers of any kind. They are for the most part capitalists and merchants and their agents are engaged in shady commercial transactions and the exploitation of unfortunate Chinese workers and defenseless Chinese women and children. In short, they are a medley of adventurers."

The British Liberal journals and periodicals also denounced any policy of stern military expedition. *The New Statesman* said, in its editorial, January 29, 1927:

"The day is gone for promoting business by bayonets. A military victory at Shanghai would mean, at best, only a temporary check to Chinese nationalism; at worst, it would mean the final ruin of our hopes and our interests in China."

The criticism of the opposing party and the public opinion of the country undoubtedly played an important part in restraining the Conservative Government from taking a more aggressive attitude toward China.

Japan, France, Italy, and the United States also dispatched cruisers and marines for the protection of their nationals in Shanghai and other parts of China. In addition to gunboats, marines, and ammunition, the United States sent a shipload of coffins, what you call "stone-overcoats," as part of their preparations. The powers openly stated that the purpose of sending troops was not to wage a war on China but to protect their citizens. Nevertheless, the presence of alien forces caused considerable excitement among the natives.

The Kuomintang or the Nationalist army occupied the native Chinese city of Shanghai on March 21. The retreating northern forces stormed the international concession but they were repulsed by the foreign troops. The focus of the war drama was now shifted from Shanghai to Nanking.

The Nanking Incident

Early in the morning of Thursday, March 24, the Kuomintang or the Nationalist army drove out the northern militarists and occupied Nanking. During and after the occupation there was great un-

rest and excitement. Both Chinese and foreigners were roughly treated and looted, not by the Nationalist soldiers as a whole, but by a small group of unruly, irregular, radical soldiers under the command of Chen Chien, a sympathizer of the Bolshevik element. The radical wing of the Hankow Government, led by M. Borodin, the Soviet adviser, and Eugene Chen, the Nationalist Minister for Foreign Affairs, plotted the murder of the foreigners in order to discredit Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the Moderate wing of Kuomintang, by embroiling him with the foreign powers. The troops of Chen Chien formed a sort of mutiny and robbed and murdered the foreigners. During the disturbance seven foreigners, among which was one American, were killed; several missionaries and marines were wounded; an officer of the Standard Oil Company sprained his ankle, and a group of forty-seven foreigners were threatened by the soldiers on the Socony Hill, the Socony being the abbreviation of the Standard Oil Company of New York.

The fate of the besieged foreigners on Socony Hill grew darker every minute. At first the foreigners thought that they could get out of the difficulty by treating the soldiers in a friendly way. They gave them money and tea and some valuable gifts. One man who deserves a special tribute for his tactics and bravery on the Socony Hill is Earle Hobart, the

Standard Oil man, at whose house the foreigners were besieged. Mrs. Hobart, who was also on the Socony Hill during the hour of trial, said about Mr. Hobart: "He took a bowl of tea in his hand as a Chinese symbol of friendliness and walked out of the front door of our house, straight into the firing. I could hear his voice, steady, strong and eloquent, talking on and on. I never heard him talk Chinese like that before. After a time Mr. Green opened the bathroom door and said: 'Guess it's all right, Mrs. Hobart, they are smiling, they are drinking the tea. —They are going away.' "

Undoubtedly, the foreigners did all they could to deal with the soldiers in friendly terms. They turned away many groups of soldiers by showing their friendly attitude toward them. It was not until the last minute when the soldiers were breaking into the house and sniping at them that a sailor stood up on the veranda and signaled with flags. The British and the American gunboats instantly placed the shells in a triangle around the house. The soldiers were dispersed and the foreigners were saved. But some twenty-five houses were destroyed and nearly a hundred Chinese, mostly civilians, were killed by the bombardment. It was a very unfortunate incident.

The Nanking incident was amplified and broadcast in the most horrible language. Some newspapers went so far as to say in their headlines that two

hundred Americans were massacred by the Chinese, whereas only one was killed.

"Heroism stories fill the columns; hysterical women refugees are quoted as impartial witnesses," says the editorial of *Nation,* April 6, 1927. "The mob spirit is invoked; war psychology is laid down in a barrage to make the people crazy. . . . One American was killed in Nanking, and the admiral bombarded the city. Why not send the marines to Chicago, where killings are more frequent?"

Those who are indignant over the loss of an American and the mistreatment of their women must bear in mind that the Chinese also suffered injustice under the Stars and Stripes.

On October 24, 1871, there was great mob violence in Los Angeles. The Americans shot and killed six Chinese. But that did not begin to satisfy the anger of the mob. Innocent Chinese workers were arrested, tied with heavy ropes, and fifteen of them were hanged in a row. But not one of the culprits was ever punished by the United States for the Los Angeles capital crime! This injustice was done at the time of profound peace, when the authority of the United States prevailed from one end of the country to the other. China is not in peace, as you know. Nine different revolutions are broiling in that country. During the occupation of Nanking (a city almost as large as the city of Minneapolis), where

hundreds of people lost their lives and thousands suffered injustice, only one American was killed! It could have been a hundred times worse. It is a known fact that the Kuomintang had warned the foreigners to leave Nanking before they attacked the city. If the lives of foreigners are endangered in any country by disturbances, it is up to the foreigners to leave. But the foreigners did not leave. They called in their gunboats instead!

During the crisis, the Japanese subjects also suffered great damages. The Japanese authorities, however, used entirely different tactics from the American and English. They did not use machine guns. They landed purposely unarmed, leaving all their guns and sabres on the cruiser, for fear that it might provoke the anger of the Nationalist army if they appeared armed. They quietly proceeded to the Japanese settlement and escorted their fellow-countrymen to the cruiser. All was accomplished without firing a single shot. Even when the Japanese consulate at Nanking was raided and robbed by the unruly soldiers, the Japanese warships declined to join the British and American gunboats in barraging the city. By so doing the Japanese gained profits and the good-will of the Chinese people.

On April 11 the powers, while pouring their gunboats into China, demanded apology, indemnity and the punishment of the culprits. Eugene Chen, former

Cantonese foreign minister, replied to the powers on April 15 that he would try to meet their demands, but that he proposed to form an impartial commission and investigate the incident first. Dissatisfied with the Chinese reply, Great Britain openly declared that she would pursue a stern policy of force. The United States hesitated to make any comment. Meanwhile, the foreigners in China became very restless. They clamored for a sterner policy than any government had so far contemplated. The Americans, too, including the American minister to China, the consuls, the marines, even some of the missionaries, and particularly the American business men in China, urged the President to follow the British policy of force and support her exploitation of China and maintain the white man's prestige and the honor of the Stars and Stripes!

If this had occurred before the World War, a profitable war would have been declared long ago. But, thanks to the voices of the liberal-thinking people of America and England, the war cloud stirred up by the blood-seekers in China was wiped out. The cry for war which rang out from Shanghai met an entirely different response in America than the war-makers wanted. The liberal journals and periodicals, leading organizations of right-thinking people, and the voice of the people generally, demanded justice to China. This public opinion un-

doubtedly played a very important part in causing the government to follow the American traditional policy of conciliation, instead of departing from that policy as prayed for by the Americans in China. Professor Stanley K. Hornbeck cites an interesting dialogue in *Current History,* June, 1927:

John Bull: "Aren't we going to stand together in China, Sam? Anglo-American solidarity, racial unity and community interests, you know!"

Uncle Sam: "I have no special interests in China; you have. I have no leased territory there; you have. I have no foreign possessions there; you have. I have no concessions there; you have. I have no railroads there; you have. All I have in China, John, are American lives, and I am protecting them, thank you."

Having failed to persuade the United States to co-operate with her in a stern policy of force, Great Britain announced on May 20, 1927, that she would follow America's policy of conciliation instead of having America adopt hers.

The triumph of the conciliatory policy against the measures of war is one of the most significant points in the international and interracial relations, especially as it pertains to the East and the West. It means that the selfish imperialist can no longer successfully stir up hatred and antagonism among nations and races for his own personal gain in the guise of national honor and race prestige. It means that no

longer can the oil kings, the cotton barons and the opium producers freely use their home governments to supply their unjust claims against an oppressed people. It means that no longer will the enlightened men and women of civilized countries allow their imperialists to run their government and declare a war on other nations and races for the purpose of exploiting an innocent people. This is a great triumph—the triumph of humanity.

Demands and counter-demands, conciliation and ultimatum between China and the powers continued a long time after the Nanking affair. Until a year after the incident no satisfactory agreement was made. The United States was the first to settle the matter with China in April, 1928. The Nationalist Government agreed to express its apology for the unfortunate incident and make compensation for the damages done during the incident. The United States declared its willingness to negotiate new treaties with China and expressed its regret over the situation which made it necessary for the American gunboats to bombard the city. Great Britain also settled the incident with the Nationalist Government in August, 1928. The terms of settlement were practically the same as that between the United States and China.

The Nationalist Government faced considerable difficulties in punishing the men responsible for the

Nanking affair. It purged the party of communism and executed many who were believed to be responsible. But that did not satisfy the powers which demanded the punishment of the officials responsible for the outrage. General Chen Chien, whose troops caused the trouble, was too powerful for the government to punish. Chen Chien, however, was arrested by General Li Tsung-jin of Hunan and Hupeh on May 21, 1928. He was invited to be present at the Political Council at Wuhan. When he stepped into the hall, the guards disarmed and arrested him on the spot. The arrest was made, not for the Nanking affair, but for political complications between General Li Tsung-jin and Chen Chien.

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NOTE: Most of the material in this chapter is taken from *The London Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Contemporary Review, China Weekly Review, The North China Herald, The Far East Review* and *China Year Books.*

CHAPTER X

Japanese Imperialism

The Shantung Clash

JAPANESE imperialism dislikes the Chinese nationalists because the latter refuse to be exploited by the former. Because the triumph of the nationalists would be detrimental to Japanese interests in China, Japan blocked the nationalist campaign in every way possible. In November, 1925, Kuo Sung-lin, who was in sympathy with the nationalists, rebelled against Chang Tso-lin, then a puppet of Japan in Manchuria. Chang Tso-lin was about to be exterminated that time. But the Japanese prevented the rebels from capturing Mukden, the capital of Manchuria, by creating a neutral zone. The Japanese consul at Mukden was closeted with Chang Tso-lin for an hour. No one knew just what was decided at the interview, but the upshot was that all the nationalist leaders who were in Mukden fled in a hurry, being in danger of arrest by the Japanese. It is charged that the Japanese soldiers in Chinese uniform fought for Chang against Kuo.

In the summer of 1927, the nationalists reached Shantung on their northward drive against the

Peking Government which then was under the dictatorship of Chang Tso-lin. The Japanese again blocked the road and the Nationalist army was driven back to the south of Yangtze River.

Then in May, 1928, when the nationalists again reached Shantung, the Japanese sent their troops in the name of protection of citizens abroad, the diplomatic phrase which covers a multitude of sins in international relations. Japanese public interest in Shantung amounts to $31,000,000 and private investments $80,000,000. There are 18,000 Japanese, most of them residing in Kiao-Chiao, 245 miles from Tsinan, where the crisis occurred.

Despite the protest of the Nationalist Government, 2,000 Japanese soldiers came to Tsinan, the capital of Shantung, and marked out a defense area of twenty miles, cutting off the railways both north and south of the city. Marking out a neutral zone in Tsinan by the Japanese was different from similar action taken at Shanghai by other powers because there is no foreign settlement or concession in Tsinan. The presence of foreign troops naturally created a tense feeling among the Chinese inhabitants.

The Nationalist army entered the city of Tsinan on May 1, 1928. Following the occupation the nationalists sent out lecturers for the purposes of propaganda. It was reported that ten of the Chinese street lecturers were arrested, and Tsai Kunghsi, a

Chinese officer, was killed by the Japanese on May 2. Chiang Kai-shek ordered the news to be suppressed for fear that it might stir up the Chinese troops. The situation, however, seemed to be very quiet until the morning of May 3. On that day, according to the Japanese reports, several Chinese soldiers looted the shop of a Japanese subject, C. Masufusa. No one knows exactly how the trouble began, but the conclusion is drawn that the Japanese fired first at the Chinese soldiers and the Chinese responded to the challenge. The shooting continued from the morning of May 3 till the evening of May 4. On the 5th and 6th, 2,000 Japanese reinforcements arrived at Tsinan. On the 6th, Chiang Kai-shek withdrew from Tsinan all troops except 2,000 to maintain order in the city, and departed for Peking. Chiang led his forces around the Japanese lines by marching them through the mountains to the west of Tsinan. The Japanese intervention delayed the occupation of Peking by one month.

After Chiang's departure from Tsinan, several of the aeroplanes belonging to the Northern Militarists hovered over Tsinan on May 7, threatening bombardment. At 5 P.M. on the same day General Fukuda, the Japanese commander, delivered an ultimatum to the Chinese commander containing five clauses, as follows:

1. Immediate punishment of the high Nationalist officials connected with the Tsinan incident.
2. All Nationalist troops that had molested Japanese to be disarmed in the presence of Japanese troops.
3. All Nationalist troops near Tsinan to evacuate within twelve hours.
4. Prohibition of all Anti-Japanese propaganda.
5. Clear out all Nationalist troops within fifteen miles of Tsinan, and along the Tsinan-Tsingtao Railway.

The Chinese commander stated that it would be impossible for him to comply with the terms in twelve hours and requested additional time to communicate with his superior, but when the ultimatum expired, the Japanese shelled the city. Some 250 Japanese and about 3,000 Chinese were killed. Both parties were guilty of inhuman crimes during the incident. They cut off the ears and noses of the victims. The Japanese bayoneted 102 Chinese soldiers who were dying at the Shantung hospital from their previous wounds. The Japanese, however, produced more pictures of atrocities committed by the Chinese upon the Japanese subjects. The Chinese stated that the Japanese destroyed all the Chinese cameras when they came out to take pictures.

While the clash was still raging in Tsinan, Japan sent additional troops to Shantung until the number

reached 25,000, of whom 14,000 were in Tsinan. On May 15, Japan demanded a personal apology by Chiang Kai-shek, the punishment of subordinate officers responsible for the incident and suspension of hostilities. Chiang complied with the last two demands and asked the League of Nations to help settle the differences between Japan and China.

After nearly a year's diplomatic battle, an agreement for the settlement of the Tsinan affair was finally signed on March 24, 1929 by Kenkicki Yoshizawa, the Japanese minister and Premier C. T. Wang. According to the terms published on March 28, the two high contracting parties will appoint a joint commission for investigation and adjudication of the question of losses sustained by both countries in the Tsinan incident, and Japan withdrew her troops from Shantung before June 1, 1929. On the other hand, China guarantees the lives and properties of the Japanese subjects in China. The mooted question of apology was omitted by declaring that "the Chinese and Japanese Governments deplore extremely the unfortunate incident of May 3, last year."

Murder of Chang Tso-lin

The Japanese intervention at Tsinan could not prevent the nationalists from taking Peking. As the nationalist forces were approaching nearer and

nearer to the capital, Chang Tso-lin, then the dictator of the Peking Government, and war lord of Manchuria, left the capital on June 3, 1928, for Mukden. On his way to Manchuria, his special train was bombed in the suburbs of Mukden and he died of his injuries on June 20.

Who bombed Chang Tso-lin's special train?

Immediately following the bombing the Japanese spread the news that the bomb was a hand grenade thrown at the train by plain-clothed nationalists or Soviet agents. This Japanese version af the bombing was broadcast far and wide. Strangely enough, the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai helped the Japanese to spread their propaganda. But the world did not believe what the Japanese said. Then they attempted to prove that the wreck was caused by an inside explosion. According to the Chinese findings, the bomb was not a hand grenade; a very powerful bomb was placed upon the South Manchurian Railway bridge by experienced sappers. It was found that the placing of the explosives and other necessary arrangements must have taken four or five experienced men six hours to complete. Since the viaduct is patrolled by the Japanese guards it would have been impossible for anyone to complete the arrangement without the co-operation of the Japanese.

The most remarkable factor which goes to prove

that the Japanese are responsible for the murder of Chang Tso-lin is the fact that just a few hours before the arrival of Chang's special, the Japanese guards withdrew two hundred yards away from the South Manchurian Railway viaduct. The removal of the guards proves that the Japanese had knowledge of the plot and expected the explosion.

If the Japanese murdered Chang Tso-lin, why did they do it? Chang was supposed to be a friend of Japan, but since he became dictator of Peking in 1926, he had not followed the wishes of the Japanese. It is understood that the Japanese motive in murdering Chang Tso-lin was to gain for themselves a free hand in Manchuria.

Those who know how the Japanese murdered the queen of Korea, will understand the case of Chang Tso-lin much better. Shortly after the Chino-Japanese War of 1894 Japan wished to play a free hand in Korea. But the queen of Korea blocked everything the Japanese wanted to do. And one night the Japanese troops occupied the queen's palace and invaded the queen's compartment. They found a little woman standing by the door. When the soldiers asked the lady whether she was the queen, she denied that she was, and after her denial she ran into the corridor, crying for help as she ran. She cried once, twice and then no more, for the Japanese were already upon her, and cut her to pieces. They wrapped

up the mutilated body of the queen and carried it way out into the Wildwood Park where they fed the flames with more and more kerosene until everything was reduced to ashes. That was the manner of the murder of the queen of Korea. It is the consensus of opinion that the Japanese murdered the Manchurian war lord as they had murdered the queen of Korea. Putnam Weale states that the Japanese thugs or soshi murdered Chang with the aid of the Japanese military officers.

After the death of Chang Tso-lin, his son Chang Hseuh-liang took his father's place as ruler of Manchuria. Chang Hseuh-liang is a young man of twenty-seven years of age but he is very keen and far-sighted in affairs of state. He wanted to unite with the nationalists. But there again the inevitable Japanese imperialism raising its viper's head warned Chang not to unite with the nationalists. When the news of the Japanese warning leaked out, Tokyo Government denied it at first but later admitted it. Then in August, Baron Hayashi, the former Japanese ambassador to London, and General Y. Saito, came to Manchuria to attend Chang Tso-lin's funeral service, but the real object of their visit was to give further warning to Chang Hseuh-liang not to unite with the nationalists. In an interview with the Japanese statesmen, Chang stated that he wished to see China united by the conclusion of peace be-

tween Manchuria and the Nationalist Government in order to permit peaceful economic development. Whereupon the Japanese declared that Japan intends to "block the reconciliation of Manchuria with the rest of China even though Japan is forced to interfere in China's internal affairs." After a moment's silence, Chang said, "The will of the Chinese people must be my will." The Japanese spokesmen were much displeased with Chang's statements and they warned him that if he would disdain Japanese advice, jeopardize Japanese interests, and hoist the nationalist flag, Japan had decided to act on her own initiative with a free hand. What the Japanese want is to make Manchuria a second Korea. Japan made Korea independent of China in 1895 and fifteen years later she annexed Korea herself.

Thus Japanese imperialism in China reached its climax, with her intervention in Tsinan, the murder of Chang Tso-lin, and her intervention in Manchuria by preventing Chang Hseuh-liang from uniting with the nationalists. Japan committed an unprecedented crime against China and violated, in the plainest terms, the Washington Convention, guaranteeing China's freedom and pledging co-operation in providing "the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government."

The attitude of the great powers was unfriendly

toward Japanese intervention in Manchuria. The United States and Great Britain declared in July, 1928, that they consider Manchuria as an integral part of China and they do not recognize Japan has any special rights there other than those conferred by treaties and those contained in Baron Shidehara's statement at the Washington Conference.

Sino-Japanese Conflict in Manchuria

Manchuria, an Alsace-Lorraine. Japan spilled her blood in Manchuria; she lost 100,000 lives and spent $1,000,000,000 in the Russo-Japanese conflict, and her present investments in Manchuria run up to $750,000,000. Japan needs room for her surplus population and raw materials and markets for her industry, and Manchuria is an ideal land for Japan. It is clear as day that Japan will never give up her dream of establishing a Second Empire in Manchuria. However badly Japan wants it, Manchuria is Chinese soil; and Chinese nationalism will never cease to struggle until it frees every square inch of Chinese territory from foreign exploitation. Unless either Japan or China makes a concession in favor of the other, Manchuria is bound to be the future battleground of nationalism and imperialism, and the Alsace-Lorraine of Asia.

Manchuria is larger than France and Germany

combined. It covers 382,630 square miles, and has a population of 20,112,000, or fifty-three per square mile. The original Manchurians, belonging to the Tungus race, have almost disappeared. The Chinese constitute ninety per cent of the total population. There are 800,000 Koreans, 250,000 Japanese and many Russians. Manchuria today is the same as the northwestern territory of the United States was fifty years ago. The soil is very rich, and wheat, millet, beans, barley and all kinds of crops grow in abundance wherever planted; cattle, pigs, horses and chickens thrive; it contains rich mineral resources especially coal and iron. Manchuria is an almost untouched treasure-vault and is an ideal territory for Japanese expansion.

Manchuria was the homeland of the Manchu Dynasty, the last of the Chinese dynasties. Since the Manchus became the rulers of China in 1644, they took special care of Manchuria. The "foreign devils" were not allowed to enter, for they might spoil the sacred soil of their homeland. In 1878 the barrier was removed, and the influx of Chinese immigrants steadily increased. In recent years, due to political unrest and famine in China proper, from 500,000 to 1,000,000 immigrants annually move into Manchuria. Manchuria is, therefore, the fastest growing country in the world today.

Japanese Manchurian Policy. Russia was the first

to covet Manchuria, but her dream of a Far Eastern Empire was lost over night in the Russo-Japanese conflict of 1905. In the Treaty of Portsmouth, September 5, 1905, Russia and Japan mutually agreed "to evacuate completely and simultaneously Manchuria, except the territory affected by the lease of the Liaotung Peninsula," and "to restore entirely and completely to the exlusive administration of China all portions of Manchuria in the occupation of Russia and Japan." Russia further declared that "she has not in Manchuria any territorial advantages or preferential concessions inconsistent with the principle of equal opportunity." By articles five and six, Russia agreed to transfer to Japan the lease of Port Arthur, Talien and adjacent territory, and all rights, privileges, concessions, and the Russian railway between Changchun and Port Arthur and all its branch lines, together with all the rights and privileges pertaining to the same.

After the war Japan's rights and privileges in Manchuria were: First, all Russian rights in Manchuria formerly transferred to Japan by the treaty of December 22, 1905, between China and Japan, including (1) the lease of Liaotung Peninsula for the term of the balance of the original lease (seventeen and one-half years); (2) the Russian railways in south Manchuria; (3) the right to administer the railway zones; (4) the right to establish railway

guards; (5) the right to develop the Antung-Mukden Railway; (6) the right to exploit mines and forests.

From these provisions it will be seen that Japan took from China actually more than Russia ever had in Manchuria; for example, the right to exploit forests and to construct more railway lines. Furthermore, Japan regarded the right to administer railway zones in a much broader light than Russia had done before.

Secondly, in addition to the above rights legally transferred, Japan made a secret protocol attached to the Peking Treaty of December 22, 1905, made known in February, 1906, in which it was agreed that Japanese capital should be used by China for the building of the Changchun-Kirin and the Mukden-Hsinmintun railways, and that China should not build any other lines in the "neighboring regions" which might impair the monopoly of the Japanese railways.

As soon as Japan stepped into the shoes of Russia, she completely forgot the Open Door and flagrantly violated the principle of equal treatment: (1) She poured her immigrants into Manchuria and enabled them to occupy all important places for commerce and industry, while other foreigners were not admitted until August, 1906. (2) Through the South Manchurian Railway Company, Mitsui Bussan

Kaisha, Yokohama Specie Bank, she secured the shipping monopoly, giving special rates to Japanese traders and making loans on lower rates to Japanese concerns than to others. (3) The Chinese customs office at Dairen was not opened until April, 1907, prior to which time it was in charge of Japanese officials who allowed Japanese goods to come in free of duty. (4) A system of rebates was introduced, by which Japanese alone could reap the benefit. It was not until 1909 that Japan abolished that system at the protest of the foreigners' consuls. (5) Foreign trade marks were violated by the Japanese. (6) a general preference was given Japanese immigrants in discrimination against all other immigrants, not only in the matter of railway rates and duties on goods, but in all other matters, yet Japan denies that she violated the principle of the Open Door.

When Russia had visions of dominating Manchuria, all the powers vigorously protested against her expansion. But when Japan really entrenched herself in Manchuria the powers neglected to assert the principle of the Open Door. Great Britain, being an ally of Japan, acquiesced in the latter's aggression in Manchuria. President Roosevelt, who was an intimate friend of Japan, did not go far against the Japanese. In the Root-Takahira Agreement of November 30, 1908, a lip-service was given for the maintenance of the principle of the Open

Door, but the agreement constituted merely an affirmation of Japanese domination of Manchuria, for it was directed "to the maintenance of the existing *status quo*" in China.

Japanese discrimination against foreign interests in Manchuria was so sharp that Secretary Knox proposed to the powers the neutralization of railways in Manchuria. His plan contemplated making Manchuria a neutral area as far as railways and communication were concerned. Under his plan the powers, including Russia and Japan, should jointly loan China the money that would be necessary for her to purchase the interests of Japan and Russia in the railways and to construct further railways in Manchuria. But Japan and Russia bitterly opposed the plan as an "act of confiscation," and the Knox plan fell flat.

Then the International Consortium was formed by the French, German, British, Russian, Japanese and American banking corporations in 1912, with a view to end the exclusive exploitation of China by one nation and to promote co-operative investments in China. But in 1913, President Wilson ordered the American group to withdraw from the consortium on the ground that the terms of loans affected the administrative entity of China. The consortium was weakened and Japan continued to dominate in the exploitation of Manchuria.

Shortly after the outbreak of the World War, Japan thrust down the throat of China the infamous Twenty-One Demands. By the treaty of May 25, 1915, in which most of the Japanese Twenty-One Demands were granted, Japan obtained from China the extension of the Liaotung lease which was to expire in 1923, to 1997 and the right to run the railway to 2007. Japan also secured the exclusive right of option in favor of Japanese capital with regard, first, to loans for the construction of railways in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, and second, to loans secured by taxes in those regions.

At the Washington Conference, Japan restored Shantung to China but stood firm for her rights in Manchuria except the right of option for railway loans by opening it to the International Consortium. It was understood that Japan restored Shantung in order to strengthen her position in Manchuria. As a matter of fact, ever since the Washington Conference, Japan has tightened her grip in Manchuria closer and closer, while loosening her bond of control in other parts of China.

Japanese aggression in China marked a new step with the accession of General Tanaka's ministry. After the financial panic due to over-expansion during and after the World War, and mismanagement of government financial policies, the liberal cabinet headed by Count Takaakira Kato fell and General

Tanaka, leader of Seiyukai, became Premier in April, 1927. General Tanaka was a member of the Japanese military clique which was instrumental in the presentation of the Twenty-One Demands in 1915, the Nishihara loans to the Anfu Military Clique in Peking in 1918-1919, and the attempt to retain the old German interests in Shantung following the Paris Peace Conference. Since he became Premier, he did not appoint a Minister of Foreign Affairs; he occupied the post by himself in order to play a free hand. He then inaugurated the so-called "Positive Policy" toward China, which was practically a reassertion of the Twenty-One Demands locally applicable to Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. Some of the Japanese new demands are: (1) The right to build six branch line extensions of the South Manchuria Railway, giving the Japanese a complete monopoly; (2) the right to develop Japanese cattle and sheep ranges, forest and minerals in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia; (3) the right of Japanese to reside, own and deal in land anywhere in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia; (4) the right of the Japanese to extend police protection over their nationals anywhere in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia; (5) the Japanese to be given first choice in the development of any native resources in these areas; (6) the right of the Japanese to establish schools and temples anywhere in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia; (7) Man-

churia and Inner Mongolia must be kept free of all political disturbances and no military forces from the outside either Chinese or foreign will be permitted to enter the area.

Rumor was widely circulated that Yoshizawa and Yang Yu-ting, Chief of Chang Tso-lin's staff, concluded an agreement on March 19, 1928, by which Japan would lend from 50,000,000 to 100,000,000 yens to finance a campaign against the Reds (the nationalists are considered to be red), and in return for which Chang Tso-lin would recognize the complete legality of the Twenty-One Demands. After the death of Chang Tso-lin, the Japanese repeatedly warned Chang Hseuh-liang not to unite with the nationalists, for fear that Japanese interests in Manchuria might be impaired if he did.

Japanese Colonization of Manchuria. "Young man, go west." This was what the busy Americans used to say to the adventurous young men. The Japanese are not so busy as the Americans and instead of saying "Young man, go west," they would sing a whole song:

The Yalu River that divides Korea from China—
Great is its iron bridge, the greatest in the Orient;
Behold through the frame it makes as it swings across the river
The countless junks gliding under,
Their sails of many shapes on the way of peaceful prosperity.
On I go drifting until I reach Shingishi.

Singing thus the Japanese come with their bankers, merchants and soldiers to entrench themselves in Manchuria.

Uninterrupted by Chinese opposition, Japan is steadily building up a second empire in Manchuria. Liaotung is a foothold and the South Manchuria Railway is an instrument for Japanese exploitation of Manchuria.

The leased territory of Liaotung, or the Province of Kwantung as the Japanese call it, covers an area of 1220 square miles with a population of 706,673. The territory was leased to Russia for a term of twenty-five years, but after the Russo-Japanese War the lease was transferred to Japan. It was to be expired in 1923, but by the treaty of 1915 it was extended to 1997. This little colony of the Japanese is more significant than its size. It is more important to Japan than Hongkong is to Great Britain. To Great Britain Hongkong means nothing more than a commercial strategy, but Kwantung is to Japan a commercial and military strategy and a foothold for the eventual colonization of Manchuria, or the absorption of the whole Republic of China.

Dairen is the largest port in Liaotung with a population of 175,000. Until thirty-five years ago it was only a little fishing hamlet unknown to the world. But it has grown 500 per cent in ten years and now it occupies the third largest trading port on the

coast of China, the first two ports being Hongkong and Shanghai. The marvelous growth of the port is due to its location, its climate, and its advantage of being a free port like Hongkong. If it grows at the present rate, before long it will outstrip Hongkong and will likely take the first place in Oriental trade.

The South Manchuria Railway Company is the mightiest of all the empire builders in the world. It differs from most of the western colonial companies including the British East India Company or the Hudson Bay Company in that these companies were government-controlled private companies, but the S. M. R. is a government-controlled semi-public institution. In name it is a railway company, but in fact it is a genuine empire builder. The operation of railways, less than 700 miles, is only a part, a very small part of the company's activities. It controls lands and operates mines, factories, hotels, hospitals, schools and city buildings.

By the Treaty of Portsmouth, the former Russian rights including the South Manchuria Railway, the railway zone, the right to operate mines, were transferred to Japan. The total value of these assets was fixed at 100,000,000 yen for which the government took 1,000,000 shares, one hundred yen a share. For the purpose of improving the railways, an additional capital stock of 100,000,000 was offered to the people. The offer was 1,066 times oversubscribed.

In 1920, the capital was increased to 440,000,000 yen; a net increase of 240,000,000, of which the government took the half. Now the total asset of the company is estimated at 2,000,000,000 yen.

The government appoints the president and vice-president for a term of five years. The board of directors is selected by the government from the shareholders who own at least 500 shares. The headquarter of the company is located in Dairen. The company controls the railway zone of 51,000 acres with a population of 200,000; and it operates 693 miles of railroad in Manchuria. In 1917, the Korean railway, 1,000 miles long, was turned over to the company and it controls now 1,693 miles of railways in Manchuria and Korea.

The former Russian rails were six inches wider than the standard gauge. But since the Japanese occupation, the railways were made standard gauge. In case of war with Russia, Japan can immediately take possession of the Russian railways in North Manchuria and Siberia and use them by reducing the wide gauge to standard. But the Russians cannot easily make use of the Japanese railways because it is impossible to widen the gauge.

Practically all the equipment was imported from America. About 300 American locomotives, 15,000 American freight cars and 89,000 tons of American

steel rails are being used by the company. In appearance everything is American except the engineers.

The company operates many valuable mines, including the Fushan coal mine, the Anshan iron ore, and the Yentai mine. The Fushan coal deposit is estimated at 1,200,000,000 tons, the annual output being 5,500,000. The Anshan iron ore deposit is estimated at 200,000,000 tons, while the Yentai coal mine is producing 105,000 tons annually. Besides, these mines produce shales. From the shale, 500,000 tons of oil is obtained, which is enough for the annual consumption of the Japanese navy. These rich mines were discovered 700 years ago when some Korean vagabonds stumbled over some black rocks, but very little was exploited, for the people hardly paid any attention to such mines. Moreover, the Manchus forbade the digging of such stones for fear that it would disturb the spirit of the sacred soil. The Japanese are lucky fellows who found rich pearls in an oyster shell.

The company also operates many civilizing institutions. It maintains twenty-six elementary schools, three middle schools, four girls' high schools, ten girls' domestic science schools—all for the Japanese. It maintains thirteen elementary schools, one middle school and one Japanese language school for the Chinese. In addition to these there are, one teachers' school, one medical school, one technical

school, thirty-three business schools, and fourteen hospitals. There are also the Dairen Central Laboratory, Dairen Geological Institute, Research Bureau of Dairen, Eastern Asia Economic Bureau of Tokyo in charge of Professor Shiratori of Tokyo Imperial University, and many experimental stations—all maintained by the company.

In the fall of 1927 an agreement was made by which the Morgan Company was to advance a loan of $40,000,000 to the South Manchuria Railway Company. But the Chinese vigorously protested against the proposed loan on the ground that Japan would only further her program of exploitation of China. Consequently the Morgan loan was dropped.

While the S. M. R. controls the nerve center of trade and commerce, the Bank of Chosen controls the nerve center of Manchuria's finance. The banking system was invented by the Chinese in ancient times, and as early as in the ninth century, bills of exchange were used. But the system was not much improved. It is true that there are many old style Chinese banks in Manchuria but they cannot meet the need of great modern industrial machinery. The first modern bank established in Manchuria was the Russo-Asiatic Bank for the purpose of financing the Russian railways. Then the Yokohama Specie Bank opened its branch in Newchang in 1900. It established sub-branches in the important places. But

later, the Bank of Chosen (Japanese Government Bank of Korea) extended its activities into Manchuria and at the present time the Bank of Chosen is the strongest one with its eighteen branch offices in Manchuria. There are also eleven other Japanese banks, ten Chino-Japanese banks and twenty-two native banks of modern type.

The Oriental Development Company was first established for the exploitation and colonization of Korea. But in 1917 it invaded the field of Manchuria. In 1923 the company secured a loan of $10,000,000 from the New York National City Bank primarily for the purpose of colonization and exploitation of Manchuria and Korea.

In addition to all these, Viscount S. Goto, formerly president of the S. M. R., advocated a new plan to create a greater empire in Manchuria. In it, he proposed to form a company similar to the Oriental Development Company and raise 150,000,000 yen for colonization. One-third of the sum will be spent for emigration of Japanese farmers; one-third of it will be spent for farm implements; and one-third will be held as a reserve fund. If this be organized, Manchuria perhaps will be Japanized at an early day.

The whole question of Manchuria, however, still remains an unsolved chapter in the history of the Far East. The firmer the Japanese grip in Man-

churia the stronger is the Chinese protest. Neither China nor Japan will give it up without a struggle. Manchuria is truly the Alsace-Lorraine of Asia and is destined to be the source of friction and conflict between China and Japan.

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CHAPTER XI

The Russo-Chinese Conflict

Bolshevism vs. Nationalism

THE present Russo-Chinese conflict in the Far East is the natural outgrowth of the Soviet two-faced policy. The Soviet Far Eastern policy has two faces and two souls, as Count Sforza puts it. It has two faces: the Soviet Government and the Third International, which are parts of the same organ. It has two souls: the soul of the world revolution and the ambition to regain lost rights. The Sino-Russian conflict of 1927 was primarily due to the manifestation of the first soul, the soul of world revolution. The present conflict between the two republics is primarily due to the manifestation of the Soviet's second soul, the ambition to regain lost rights and privileges. We shall now see how the Soviet two-souled policy has caused these conflicts.

The Soviet Drive in Eastern Asia. As Czarist Russia turned to the Far East with her imperial scheme after failing in Europe and in the Near East, so did Soviet Russia with her program of world revolution; as Imperial Russia posed as the friend of China for the purpose of obtaining special rights,

so did Soviet Russia for the world revolution and for regaining lost rights. Until 1920 the Bolsheviki focused their propaganda in Turkey, India, Persia and Afghanistan, but the result of their propaganda in those countries was somewhat disappointing to them. Turkey, for example, welcomed Russia so long as she supported her in her struggle against European imperialism. But Turkish nationalism would not tolerate the propagation of Bolshevism, and then Russia turned to Eastern Asia.

From the beginning of 1921, Russia centered her attention in the Far East. The withdrawal of the Allied expeditionary forces from Siberia, the fall of the Kolchak Government (the government set up by the White Russians) in 1921, and the establishment of the Far Eastern Republic, a puppet state of Soviet Russia (the Soviets established that republic through which they could deal with the Japanese and other capitalistic powers), all gave the Bolsheviki hopes of compensating their losses in the Near East. The gaining of a foothold in Mongolia in that year gave the Soviets a new impetus. Mongolia was the first foreign territory in Asia which was completely won over by the Bolsheviki, and she deserves a few words of special mention.

Mongolia had been a dependency of China for many centuries. During the Chinese Revolution in 1911, the Czarist Government established a pro-

tectorate over that territory. During the World War, Russia made secret treaties with Japan for the purpose of strengthening her grip in Mongolia and North Manchuria. In 1916 the Russo-Chinese-Mongolian Agreement was made, by which China's suzerainty over Mongolia was recognized by Russia, and the autonomy of Mongolia and Russian special concessions were recognized by China. After the Russian Revolution, China abrogated the treaty of 1916 and included Mongolia in the territory of China.

After the fall of the Kolchak Government, Baron Ungern led the White Russians into Mongolia in the spring of 1921, and drove out the Chinese troops, and became Minister of War under the Living Buddha, ruler of Mongolia. At that same time the Reds created a dummy "People's Independent Government of Mongolia," whose head was a former clerk in the Imperial Consulate General in Urga. Then they asked the Soviet Government to send troops into Mongolia. Immediately the Soviet Government dispatched troops under the pretext of protecting the People's Government and of driving out the White Russians. In the treaty of 1924, Russia again recognized Mongolia as a part of Chinese territory, and promised to recall her troops. In 1925 Russia did recall her soldiers, but they were replaced by Russian-drilled Mongolian troops. Today Mon-

golia remains in the grip of the Soviets, who use the country as a basis of propaganda in the Far East.

But it was China proper, not Mongolia, that the Soviets were driving for. There they found an ideal land for world revolution, a country with teeming millions of people, bound and tied by foreign imperialism. On the question of whether or not China is fertile soil for Bolshevism, the opinion is divided. Those who say "no" see only one side,—the lack of powerful exploiting classes in China, agricultural or industrial. They also cite the fact that most of the Chinese people are small land-owners and therefore would refuse to give up their property in favor of communism. Those who say "yes" see only the other side,—the lack of individualism and the richness of communistic ideas among the Orientals, and also the deplorable conditions of the tenants which are no better than those in Czarist Russia. The Soviet agents were not at all worried about these questions. They believed that if they only could secure the good will of the Chinese by helping them to drive out foreign imperialism, Bolshevism would take care of itself. With this belief the Soviets approached China, and, naturally, their attitude toward China was very friendly.

The Soviet Sugar-Coated Policy. As early as July, 1919, the Soviet Government announced that

it would return all Russian rights and concessions, including the Chinese Eastern Railway, to China without compensation. But in the following year, it changed its tone and declared that it would negotiate a treaty concerning the railway "with due regard to the needs of the U. S. R. R." Then, in September, 1920, Leo Karakhan, Assistant Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, opened negotiations with the Chinese Republic through Yurin, the negotiator of the Far Eastern Republic, on behalf of Russia. China was disappointed by Russia's repudiation of her generous declaration of 1919. Moreover, the Chinese statesmen were still mindful of the old Russian trickery—posing as a friend and grabbing Chinese territory—and were suspicious of Soviet Russia. Besides, China entered the World War on the side of the Allied and Associated Powers and she, naturally, did not show much affection toward the Soviets, who had sued for peace with the Germans. Furthermore, the Chinese were hesitant in entering into friendly relations with Russia for fear they might lose the friendship of the United States and other powers. And after six months of fruitless negotiation with Wellington Koo, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Chinese Republic, Yurin returned to Chita.

When Yurin came back from Chita in July, 1921, China was still more reluctant to negotiate

with Russia, because of the Washington Conference which was to be convened shortly.

After the failure of Yurin's mission, the Soviet Government sent Adolph Joffee, independent of the Far Eastern Republic, but accompanied by a separate mission from Chita. Joffee was very astute, clever in his approach. He held banquets and parties, and became quite popular among the people as well as in diplomatic circles. But he accomplished nothing. He then went to south China to visit Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the Nationalist Party. From that time, the relations between the Kuomintang and the Soviet Russia became very intimate.

Finally, Leo Karakhan was sent to China to accomplish what Yurin and Joffee had failed to accomplish. He came to Peking in September, 1923, and successfully negotiated treaties with China by giving her much less than Yurin or Joffee had proposed to give. Two agreements were signed at Peking on May 31, 1924: the Agreement on General Principles and the Agreement for the Provisional Management of the Chinese Eastern Railway. By the first, Russia formally renounced all the rights, privileges and concessions, including extraterritoriality, customs restrictions and the former Russian concessions, and the Russian share of the Boxer's indemnity, and entered into new diplomatic relations with the Chinese Republic on the basis of

equality and reciprocity. Russia likewise promised not to propagate Bolshevism in China. It also provided the basic principles by which the status of the Chinese Eastern Railway was to be established. By the second agreement, a joint management of the line was provided.

The spokesman for Russia often maintains that Russia renounced everything and sacrificed everything in that treaty for China. But that is not true. As a matter of fact, Russia just sanctioned what she already had lost—her concessions, Boxer's indemnity and extra-territoriality. Germany and Austria lost similar rights during the war, but they were not given much credit for losing them. The Soviets were clever enough to sanction their loss in such a way to gain; they gained the sympathy of the people and the control over the lost Chinese Eastern Railway.

From 1924 to 1927, Russia was the warmest friend of China, — at least in appearance. Leo Karakhan, who just became the Soviet Ambassador at Peking, and M. Borodin, the Soviet Adviser to the nationalists at Canton, were busy explaining the principles of the new Soviet policy. What they repeated was somewhat as follows: "We are the first to renounce all rights and privileges and make new treaties on equal footing. We are ready to give you our utmost support, moral and material, in your

struggle against imperialism. For all these, we wish no compensation. What Russia wants in China is a strong, independent China."

Russia furnished the nationalists with experts, some twenty-five military advisers and fifty political and other advisers, and helped the Chinese to drill their army and organize labor and student unions. Russia literally poured out her soul and heart toward the Nationalist Movement. In May, 1925, after the shooting of the Chinese students in Shanghai by the British police, Russia sent funds to help the strikers. After the Shakee Massacre and Wanhsien Bombardment in 1926, the Soviets aroused the national conscience against the British. The Reds then taught the Chinese to drive out the "foreign devils" by force. When the Chinese coolies and students stormed the British concessions in Hankow and Kiukiang in January, 1927, the Soviets smiled and applauded behind the scene. But when the Chinese used the same tricks learned from the Russians against the Russians themselves, in the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Soviets frowned at the nationalists.

While the Soviet agents in China were enflaming the dormant Chinese nationalism against foreign imperialism, the Bolsheviki at home were not idle. They established Sun Yat-sen's University and the University of the Toiling East, and recruited stu-

dents from all parts of the world to educate them and send them back to their respective countries. Naturally, more students came from China than from any other country. They returned with a message of good-will from Russia. Thus, the young and the old, the people and the governments of the two republics, were united for a common purpose—the liberation of China from foreign imperialism. Their union worked well until March, 1927, when the Chinese nationalists severed all relations with Soviet Russia.

The Sino-Russian Clash in 1927. The Soviets were good friends of the nationalists so long as they could hide their real motives, and helped the Chinese in their struggle for freedom. But they were regarded as aggressors and oppressors by the nationalists when the Bolsheviki openly manifested their hidden motive,—the motive of the world revolution, and began to dictate to the Kuomintang.

After three years of friendly co-operation, the break came in March, 1927. That time the Nationalist army led by Chiang Kai-shek drove out the northern militarists and occupied Nanking. During the occupation of that city, M. Borodin and Eugene Chen, and other radicals who were closely connected with the Third International, plotted to overthrow the moderate wing of the Kuomintang. A group of the Nationalist army, working under the instruction

of the radicals, formed a sort of mutiny. Seven foreigners were killed at this coup and forty-seven other foreigners were still besieged at Socony Hill. At that moment foreign gunboats barraged the city to save the besieged.

Immediately, the nationalists severed all relations with Soviet Russia, purged the party of communism, rounded up the Red Russians and deported them, and searched out Chinese Bolsheviki, many of whom they executed. From that time, the nationalists literally eliminated both the Reds and the Pinks. The Nationalists' drive against communism was unquestionably precipitated by the sudden manifestation of the Soviets' first soul, the soul of world revolution.

Now, we shall see how the manifestation of the second soul, the ambition to regain lost rights, has brought about the present conflict.

The Question of the Chinese Eastern Railway

Railway as an Instrument of Exploitation. "The Chinese politics is a railway politics," is the remark of an American authority on Far Eastern questions. The reason why the railway plays so important a rôle in the industrially backward countries is that the roads are used not only for transportation and communication, but also as an instrument of exploitation and occupation of undeveloped lands.

If a foreign power wants to occupy a rich tract of Chinese territory, she approaches China and says: "You have so many famines in your country. Do you know why? Because you cannot transport the products from one province to another. Why won't you let us build up the railways for you?" That sounds very reasonable and the Chinese statesman says, "Yes." Then, a few days later the foreigner comes back and says: "We have found along the railway lines rich natural resources, coal and iron, etc. You have no capital to exploit them with. Why not let us exploit them for you?" That also sounds quite reasonable and the Chinese says, "Yes." Before long the foreigner comes back and says: "Gentleman, you have no political stability in your country. Our undertakings are constantly threatened by your civil strife. Why not let us bring our own soldiers and protect our undertakings?" The Chinese statesman, having had no experience whatever in the diplomatic poker game, simply says, "Yes," without knowing what he is doing. Immediately, the foreigner pours in his troops and takes possession of the land. Following the heels of the soldiers, foreign merchants and traders entrench themselves in the richest portions of the Chinese territory. Then the Chinese statesman, rubbing his eyes, finds a rich tract of land in possession of that foreigner, who came to see him as a friend just the day before

yesterday. Thus, the foreign powers have used the railway as an instrument of invasion, occupation and annexation of Chinese territory. This is the reason why the Chinese are hesitant in granting railway concessions to foreigners. And this is also the reason why the nationalists are so anxious to take over the railways from foreign control.

China is much larger than the United States, but she has only 12,000 miles of railroads against America's 250,000. All of these, save several hundred miles which are purely Chinese, are more or less foreign, either built by foreigners, or built with foreign capital, or under foreign control. The Chinese Eastern Railway is only one of the many foreign built and foreign controlled railways.

The Real Nature of the Chinese Eastern. Russia's dream for an ice-free port in the Far East led her to build that gigantic Trans-Siberian Railway and also many other lines in Manchuria. After China's defeat by Japan in 1895, Russia stood as a friend of China and caused Japan to restore Liaotung, which had been given her for indemnity. Russia secured in 1896, for her pretended friendship, the concession to build railways across northern Manchuria. The concession was granted, not directly to the Russian Government, but to the Russo-Chinese Bank, later known as the Russo-Asiatic Bank, organized by Russia in 1895. China reserved

the right to purchase the railways at the end of thirty-six years (1939) from the opening of the line to traffic, and the right to take them over without payment of compensation at the end of eighty years (1983). In 1898, Russia secured a lease of Port Arthur and Dalny and additional concessions to built railways in South Manchuria.

The Russo-Asiatic Bank, for the purpose of constructing the railways, organized the Chinese Eastern Railway Company, chartered by the Russian Government in 1896. The company was a joint stock company and the stockholders were limited to Russian and Chinese subjects. It was organized according to Russian law but received its seal from the Chinese Government, which meant it was a Chinese concern. The president of the company was appointed by the Chinese Government, but the management of the company and of the railways were Russian. Russia advanced loans to the company by holding stocks and bonds for security. Since Russia had no money to advance, she borrowed most of it from France. From this it is clear that the Chinese Eastern Railway has never been Russian; it was the property of the Chinese company known as "The Chinese Eastern Railway Company." Russia was creditor, not owner, of the property.

After the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, all Russian rights and concessions, including the railways

south of Changchun were ceded to Japan. But Russia still operated the Chinese Eastern Railway and the Trans-Siberian Railway. After the Russian revolution of 1917, the Chinese Eastern was taken over by the Allied Powers. On October 31, 1922, the railway was turned over to China by the Allied Railway Committee.

Then Leo Karakhan came to Peking and succeeded in convincing the Chinese that they should bring the railway under a joint management.

By the terms of the Agreement for the Provisional Management of the Chinese Eastern Railway, signed on May 31, 1924, the management of the line was brought under a board of ten directors, five Chinese and five Russians. The president of the board was to be a Chinese and the manager of the railway a Russian. Other employees were to be impartially selected from both nationals. It was also provided that China could purchase the railway with "Chinese capital." Since the railway was located in Manchuria, which was under the control of Chang Tso-lin, who openly defied the authority of the Peking Government, Russia was obliged to make a separate treaty with Chang, embodying practically the same provisions.

From 1924, Russia dominated in the operation of the Chinese Eastern. The Russians operated the line on Chinese soil without compensation of any kind.

The Chinese had little share in the annual profits which amount to $12,000,000. It is hardly believable that a man like Wellington Koo, with both eyes and ears open, would make such an agreement. All Chinese workers employed by the railway were forced to join the Syndical Unions under strict control of the Soviet Executive Center of the Syndical Unions in Moscow. Undoubtedly, most of the Russian employees were actively engaged in disseminating Bolshevism. Most probably, a great part of the company's profits were utilized for the purpose of propaganda.

Stirring the Hornets' Nest. The month of May, 1929, was the most critical period of the year. Feng Yu-hsiang, the so-called Christian general, who was closely associated with the Soviets, threatened to blow up the Nationalist Government. The Chinese raid of the Russian Consulate in Harbin was unquestionably prompted by fear of General Feng's gesture. On May 27th, the Manchurian authorities, presumably with instructions from Nanking, raided the Russian Consulate at Harbin and seized propaganda literature, and arrested thirty-nine men and held them for trial. The Chinese alleged that the Soviet agents violated the treaty of 1924, in which Russia agreed to refrain from propagating Bolshevism in China. Under this pretext, on July 10th, the Chinese authorities seized the Chinese Eastern Rail-

way, dismissed all the Russian employees, arrested several hundred Russians, and deported a number of them to the Siberian border. The Russian trade unions were ordered closed; the telephone and telegraph system of the railway company was also seized by the Chinese. Fan Chih-kuang was made the new manager in place of M. Emshanov. White Russians and Chinese replaced the dismissed Soviet employees.

Although the *coup d'etat* was made under the pretext of Bolshevism, the seizure was prompted more by economic motives and desire to free their country from foreign control than by fear of Bolshevism. It must be remembered that the aim of the nationalists is to take over everything from foreign control,—all the concessions and settlements, all the lands, skies and seas, and all the instruments of communication and transportation. Hence, though offensive and provocative to Russia, the seizure must not be taken as an isolated act of hostility against Russia; it is only a part of their general struggle for freedom. Those who understand how the foreign powers secured those concessions, will fully sympathize with the nationalists. But the warmest friends of China can rightfully question the wisdom of seizing the railway from Russia, a nation which gave so much help to the nationalists, even though the help was given for a different motive—

the motive of world revolution. I cite a piece of sensible advice given by a clever American journalist: "If you Chinese want to steal the railways, learn the Wall Street method!"

After the Coup d'Etat. Russia, of course, was greatly angered by the Chinese conduct, and on July 13th she sent a three-day ultimatum threatening to "resort to other means to protect the legal rights of the Soviet Union," unless China would consent to (1) the immediate summoning of a conference to regulate all Chinese Eastern disputes; (2) the immediate abrogation of all wilful actions toward the railway; (3) the immediate release of all Soviet Russians and the cessation of oppression and prosecution of Soviet citizens and institutions. Dr. C. T. Wang, the Chinese Foreign Minister, replied on July 16th, demanding, (1) release of Chinese imprisoned in reprisal for the Consulate raids; (2) adequate protection for Chinese citizens from aggression and repression.

The Soviet Government regarded the reply as evasive and hypocritical, and cut off all diplomatic relations with China on July 18th, and then moved troops to the frontier of Manchuria. China also began to strengthen her defense forces.

On July 18th, Secretary Stimson called the attention of the two powers,—China through C. C. Wu, the Chinese Minister at Washington, and Russia

through M. Briand at Paris, to the fact that both nations are signatory powers of the Kellogg Anti-War Pact, which was to be in force a few days later. On July 22nd, both Russia and China declared their intention to observe the Kellogg Pact. On the same date the Soviet Government declined a French offer to mediate and made it clear that China must restore the railway as a step toward formal negotiation. However, an informal negotiation took place in Manchouli between M. Melnikoff, representing Russia, and Tsai Yun-hsiang, Li Shou-kun and Chu Shao-yang, representing China.

Meantime, public opinion in the two countries ran hot and belligerent. The Bolsheviki in Russia all united and raised cries of war. The Russians felt that China sold her soul to foreign imperialism and seized the Russian railway at the instigation of foreigners, and they became even more angered at the Chinese. On the other hand, the Chinese felt that the Russians were bluffing too much, due to China's unpreparedness. Before a cabinet meeting, Chiang Kai-shek, President of China, uttered: "Tell me the reason why Soviet Russia can oppress our people! We are not united! We do not work hard to make our country strong. . . . Not only Russia, but all foreign countries do not give us due respect." Thus, each nation saw only her side of the question and agitated the public opinion. When the question

became very serious, however, China made it clear that the seizure did not constitute a confiscation but it was merely a suspension of the officers. In passing, some credit must be given to the foreign powers who maintained a strict neutrality and endeavored to bring about peaceful relations.

The informal negotiations which began in Manchouli at the beginning of August were broken up on the 11th. It was reported that Russia's demand of the right to station troops along the railway line and Chinese refusal to restore the railway as a step toward a formal negotiation were the main causes of the split. Then Russia and China took a new belligerent attitude toward each other. On August 13th, the Soviet Government organized a Far Eastern army under the command of V. C. Blucher, who once was a military adviser to the nationalists of China. Beginning with August 16th, the Soviet troops invaded Chinese territory and committed acts of war day after day. Many hundreds of Chinese, and undoubtedly as many Russians, were killed and wounded. At the same time China mobilized more troops, some 120,000 at the frontier and prepared to oppose the Russians at any cost. It seemed for some time that a horrible war was inevitable.

Then came the happy news of August 27th, reporting a peace parley between Russia and China. The new negotiations are carried on between Chang

Tso-ping, the Chinese Minister at Berlin, and M. K. Restinski, the Soviet Ambassador at Berlin, through the mediation of the German Government. The conditions of opening a peace parley were reported to be that China restore the Chinese Eastern Railway to a *status quo ante,* that Russia appoint a new general manager instead of reappointing the old one, that Moscow instruct all Soviet railway employees in Manchuria not to engage in communist propaganda, that China instruct all authorities to obey the terms of the treaty, and that both sides free all persons arrested in connection with the current dispute.

In closing this discussion, let us hope that the statesmen of both countries will be big-hearted enough to admit their shortcomings and solve the difficulties on the principle of compromise and mutual sacrifice.

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CHAPTER XII

China's Struggle for Freedom

SEVERAL years ago, I lectured in a small country town. It seems that I was the first Oriental that had ever appeared in that community. The people looked at me with curious eyes, and asked me all sorts of questions. They asked me where I was born, and why? Who, and what sort of person was my father? What I am—and how I "got that way"—etc. When I told them that I, too, am a normal human being, they did not believe it.

In the old days, the Chinese did not consider the foreigners human beings and called them "foreign devils." The foreigners came with their iron-clad battleships and taught China a good lesson. But today the case is exactly the reverse. The foreigners and the foreign nations do not think of the Chinese as human beings and they do not treat them as human beings. They humiliate and discriminate against the Chinese, and they kick and cuff and curse them with contempt. They cheat and hoodwink the Chinese with backstairs whisperings and secret dealings and pursue a policy of force, murder, robbery, mockery, bullying and brow-beating and crooked commer-

cial dealings. Against these things young China revolts; she revolts against foreign political control, including extraterritoriality, customs control, concessions, leased territories and all the unequal treaties now existing between China and the powers; she revolts against the arrogant assumption of social superiority, arising from the enjoyment of exclusive rights and privileges, backed up by the gunboats of the foreign powers; and she revolts against the imposition of foreign culture and religion. The first two points only will be discussed in this chapter, saving the last point for the following chapter.

Extraterritoriality

When a Chinese comes to the United States he obeys your law, and when a foreigner comes to England he obeys the law of England. But when a foreigner comes to China, does he obey the Chinese law? No, he brings his own law with him. Not only that, he brings his own battleships to enforce his law in China. This is the practical definition of extraterritoriality. The legal definition is the right of a nation to exercise its law over its subjects in the territory of the other.

Under this system, the foreign nationals in China, when defendants in either civil or criminal proceedings, are exempt from the Chinese jurisdiction and

entitled to be tried in the courts and by the laws of their own countries.

The Convention of Nerchinsk of 1689 between China and Russia was the first treaty embodying the principle of extraterritoriality. A reciprocal agreement was made in that treaty by which the subjects of the contracting parties residing in the territory of the other were to enjoy extraterritorial privileges. But it had no relation to modern practices.

The present right of extraterritoriality now enjoyed by the foreigners in China was first granted to the British subjects in the treaty of 1843, supplementary to the treaty of 1842 following the so-called Opium War. But the right was extended to the nationals of twenty-two nations including the United States which made the treaties with China, by virtue of the most-favored-nation clause.

In the old days, it was necessary for the foreigners to exercise that privilege because China had different laws and different ways of administering law. Chinese justice was administered not by judicial officers but by the corrupt executive magistrates. China had no lawyers, judges or civil and criminal codes applicable to the foreigners. A Chinese judiciary was never developed because the people always brought their disputes, not before the court, but before the learned scholars to settle the cases. The scholars and the experienced elders in the towns and villages decided the

cases very informally by the sense of justice and reasonableness instead of by tricky interpretation of complicated laws as practiced by the western nations. Both the officials and the common people looked upon those who brought their troubles to the court as stupid, brutal and inhuman.

The decree of Emperor Kang Hsi, issued early in the eighteenth century, read:

"The Emperor, considering the immense population of the Empire, the minute division of landed property and the notoriously litigious character of the Chinese, is of the opinion that lawsuits would tend to increase to a frightful extent if people were not afraid of the courts and if they felt confident of always finding in them ready and perfect justice. As man is apt to delude himself concerning his rights, contests would be interminable, and one half of the Empire would not suffice to settle the lawsuits of the other half. I desire, therefore, that those who have recourse to the courts be treated without any pity, and in such a manner that they shall be disgusted with law, and tremble to appear before the judges. In this manner the evil will be cut up by the roots; the good citizens who may have difficulties among themselves will settle them like brothers by referring them to arbitration. As for those who are troublesome, obstinate and quarrelsome, let them be ruined in the law courts—that is the justice that is due them."

But under the republic, China completely reformed her judicial system after the western prac-

tices. A Law Codification Commission has been sitting uninterruptedly since 1914. With a staff of lawyers of excellent training, and with the assistance of Japanese and French legal experts, this commission has completed the final drafting of the Penal Code, the Penal and Civil Procedure Codes and the Commercial Codes. She established modern courts in most of the large towns and cities. There are three grades of courts in China: the District Court, the High Court, and the Supreme Court in Nanking, which is the highest court in the land.

A large number of those administering justice in these new courts have had foreign training. In order to provide more capable officers, the government, five years ago, established in the city of Peking a college "for the training of judicial officers." The faculty of the college consists of judicial officers and foreign instructors. The course provided covers two years of practical court work. No student is admitted without a diploma from a Chinese or foreign law school of recognized standing. Graduates from this school are sent out as prospective officers in the District Courts.

Again, in former days, the foreigners claimed they must go to the consular custody or to the prisons located in their own country, on the ground that the Chinese jails were not good enough for the white prisoners. In order to go to jail, then, the pris-

oners had an opportunity to visit their beloved country free of charge. But under the Republic, China has built about seventy-five modern prisons, well built, well equipped and well ventilated. To about 320,000 foreigners there are seventy-five jails. This means that even though all the foreigners came to jail at the same time, China would be able to take care of them in good shape.

Another justification for the exercise of that privilege was the political unrest in China. During the last sixteen years civil war continued in that country and the lives and properties of the foreigners would have been unsafe without foreign protection. But today China is unified under the Nationalist Government and peace and order are maintained at home.

All the conditions which made the exercise of extraterritoriality necessary have been changed and the time is ripe for the foreigners to give up that privilege. Most of the fair-minded peoples of the world are willing to give it up but the foreign interests in China absolutely refuse to renounce it. Why? The most important reason seems to be that if the foreigners give up that right, they will have to pay taxes to the Chinese Government. At the present time the foreigners make many millions of dollars but they are immune from taxation!

Japan, Turkey and Siam abolished extraterritoriality in their countries. Now it is China's turn to

fight against that privilege exercised by the foreigners. The chief objections to the system are as follows:

Under the old Chinese laws the foreigners found it impossible to get justice, but now, under extraterritoriality, the Chinese find it difficult to secure justice. If a Chinese is injured by a foreigner, the plaintiff must bring the offender and necessary witnesses to the nearest foreign consular court. He must travel sometimes from several hundred to a thousand miles to sue the offender.

After reaching the consular court, the Chinese plaintiff is as helpless as a child. He understands neither the foreign language nor the foreign legal systems, including some fifteen different national laws. There is no lawyer in China who can aid him. He loses the suit long before the consul even hears the case. A consul, in general, is not technically trained in law. Moreover, he is under a strong temptation to favor the side of his own national, who is the defendant in the case brought before him. The bias is so great that, in the consular courts of certain countries, never is a verdict obtained against the defendant!

The following incident will illustrate the bias of the foreigners. In 1923, bandits wrecked the Blue Express running from Peking to Shanghai. They had learned how to wreck the train from an American

moving-picture show in China. They carried off many passengers, foreigners being among them, for ransom. After their release, the powers compelled the Chinese Government to pay each foreigner $250 a day for the entire period of his detention. President Tsao Kun, who paid $5,000 for a vote in the Parliament in order to be elected, desiring his recognition as the chief executive of China, paid what the foreigners demanded.

While the captives were still held by the bandits, a foreigner in Shanghai drove his automobile amuck, and ran down and killed a Chinese who resided in the international concession. The mixed court, then administered by the foreigners, awarded the family of the dead Chinese the huge sum of twenty-five dollars for damages.

In most cases there is no appeal from consular courts. Excepting the United States and Great Britain, no country has a court where an appeal can be had. In order to make an appeal, the plaintiff has to go to Rome or Paris. Even if the offender was sentenced to penal servitude at the consular court, the injured Chinese does not know whether the guilty is in jail or in a palace. Thus in theory, a Chinese may always have redress against an alien, but in practice he finds it impossible to secure justice. The wise Chinese swallows his grievance without recourse to

law, and consoles himself with a bitter determination not to have any more dealings with foreigners.

Taking advantage of extraterritoriality, many of the uncultured foreigners commit unnecessary offences against the innocent Chinese. A foreigner thinks twice in Japan before using violence or losing his temper in disagreement with the Japanese. A German, having lost extraterritoriality during the World War, thinks three times when in exasperation he feels inclined to chastise an insolent Chinese. But the foreigners who enjoy that privilege seldom think once before they use their fists. This arrogant and contemptible conduct of the foreigners all the more kindles the wrath of the Chinese and makes them more impatient with the system.

China's struggle to abolish extraterritoriality is nothing new. As early as 1903 China made treaties with Great Britain, the United States and Japan, asking them to relinquish their claims to extraterritorial rights when satisfied that the laws of China were such as to warrant them in so doing. At the Paris Conference of 1919, and again at the Washington Conference of 1921 the Chinese delegation urged the powers to abolish the practice. The powers represented at the Washington Conference adopted a resolution to appoint a commission for the purpose of examining the present practice of extraterritorial

jurisdiction and the workings of the Chinese judicial system.

The Extraterritorial Commission appointed by the thirteen contracting powers, including China, met in January, 1926. After nine months' investigation, the commission recommended to the powers to apply the Chinese laws at the consular courts as far as practicable and have the foreigners pay taxes to the Chinese Government as a step toward gradual abolition of extraterritoriality.

Out of twenty-two nations whose nationals enjoy extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, five nations, including Germany, Austria, Bolivia, Persia and Russia, lost or renounced the right, and the other seventeen nations still exercise the privilege. At the present time there are more white people in China without extraterritorial jurisdiction than with it. Out of 125,000 westerners in China only about 35,000, including 14,000 British subjects, 9,000 Americans and 3,000 French, have the privilege of extraterritoriality. The Japanese subjects in China, numbering over 200,000, also enjoy the same privilege. The foreign firms in China organized by the nationals who enjoy extraterritoriality, including 4,278 Japanese firms, 726 British firms, 470 American firms, also enjoy the extraterritoriality privilege.

In the new treaties made by the Nationalist Government with Belgium and Italy in November, 1928,

it was stated that extraterritoriality will be abolished by January 1, 1930, subject to similar arrangements by other powers.

Besides the consular courts, there exist in Shanghai and Amoy, tribunals known as the "mixed courts." These courts deal with all cases arising in the settlement in which a Chinese is a defendant and a foreigner the plaintiff, and with cases of violation by a Chinese of municipal regulations. These courts are, in fact, Chinese courts, presided over by Chinese judges, but with representatives of the treaty powers sitting by their side and known as assessors. In theory these assessors are present simply to see that the interests of their nationals are well protected, but they ordinarily dominate the court. During the revolution of 1911 the consular bodies took over these courts and shortly after the revolution they returned the mixed court at Amoy, but they controlled the Shanghai mixed court until January, 1927, when it was returned to the Chinese.

Customs Control

Every sovereign state has a right to fix her own tariff; but China was robbed of that right. After the Opium War, China was forced to grant England and other powers the right to arrange her tariff to suit themselves. In 1842 the tariff rate was fixed at five per cent ad valorem and that was in existence till

1929. China's domestic industry needs protection but she had no right to protect her infant industry. Although the powers forced China to levy not higher than five per cent ad valorem upon goods imported into China, they themselves levy upon Chinese imported articles a tariff of from twenty-five to three hundred per cent. That was unfair and China revolted against it.

In 1902, Great Britain agreed to allow China to raise her tariff up to seven and a half per cent on export and twelve and a half per cent on imports, provided that all other powers make similar arrangements and that China abolish the *likin* or transit tax. The *likin* originated during the Taiping Rebellion. The Manchu Government built customs stations at various points on the highway, sometimes only a few miles apart, and collected taxes on the articles on transportation, for the purpose of financing the campaign to suppress the rebellion. The amount paid on various stations ran from fifteen to thirty per cent of the value of the commodity. All Chinese engaged in internal trade have to pay *likin,* but the foreigners were exempted from it since 1858 by paying an additional duty of two and a half per cent at the port of entry.

At the Washington Conference of 1921-22 the nine powers agreed to allow China to levy a surtax of two and a half per cent on ordinary articles and

five per cent on luxuries, subject to further negotiations among the contracting powers. At the Peking Tariff Conference held in October and November, 1925, the delegates of the contracting powers passed a resolution to the effect that tariff autonomy be granted to China by January 1, 1929, and the Chinese Government declared it would simultaneously abolish *likin*. But the conference failed to put into force the surtax provided at the Washington Conference.

Meantime, the Nanking Government levied a new export tax of two and a half per cent and three and a half per cent surtax on imports, with thirty per cent on certain luxuries, beginning in July, 1927. The new levies are a virtual assumption of tariff autonomy and they brought forth vigorous protests from the British, French and Japanese consuls. The Chinese Nationalist Government ignored the protests and continued to levy the new tariffs. The grant of tariff autonomy by January 1, 1929, would simply mean that the powers would sanction what China is already doing. *Likin* was declared abolished on September 1, 1927, on all territory under the control of the Nationalist Government.

By the close of 1928, the Chinese Government successfully negotiated with the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Portugal, Italy and

Sweden, obtaining their consent to grant to China tariff autonomy by January 1, 1929. Japan, however, held up her approval until January 31, 1929; on that day Japan agreed to grant tariff autonomy to China and in return, China agreed to provide security demanded for the Japanese loans out of the additional customs revenues. On the following day China put her tariff rate into operation. The new rate runs from seven and a half per cent to fifty-nine per cent. This new tariff reveals an intention to protect infant industries but is, in the main, based upon the principle of tariff for revenue.

The contribution of foreigners to the Chinese customs administration is of great value. China had no systematic customs service, but Sir Robert Hurt perfected the system. During the Taiping Rebellion the foreigners took over the Chinese customs service. In 1898, China agreed that so long as the British predominated in the total of China's foreign trade, the Inspector General of Customs should be a British subject. The customs service was under the British Inspector General, who employed a staff of both Chinese and foreigners. But in February, 1927, Sir Frederick Aglen, the last of the British inspectors, was dismissed by the Peking Government because he refused to issue orders to collect the surtax, which was illegal in the eyes of the foreign nations. The British brought pressure for the appointment

of A. H. F. Edwards in place of Sir Frederick Aglen. But China is not bound today to employ a British inspector, for the British no longer predominate in China's foreign trade. Japan comes first and then Great Britain. The Chinese Government, however, authorized Mr. Edwards on October 8, 1928, to carry on the work temporarily. Then on January 9, 1929, F. W. Maze, formerly Deputy Inspector General of Customs and a good friend of the nationalists, was appointed to the post of Inspector General of Customs for a term of two years. It is expected that when his term expires the customs will be placed under purely Chinese control.

The money thus collected by the service is deposited at the British Hongkong and Shanghai banking corporation on a non-interest arrangement. Most of the customs revenue goes to foreign creditors, for one-half of China's total national debt of $1,250,000,000 is secured by customs revenue. While showing their appreciation to the foreigners who improved the customs service, the Chinese wish to operate it themselves.

Concessions, Leased Territories, Etc.

Every sovereign state enjoys the inherent right to territorial integrity, but China's territorial integrity is violated outright. Most of the important spots of China are under the control of the foreigners. Immi-

grants coming to the United States find the American people very congenial, but they cannot obtain a night's lodging unless they pay room rent. But in China the powers occupy the lands for ninety-nine years or more without paying a cent of rent. England holds Wei-hai-wei, France holds Kwanchowan, and Japan Liaotung, all without paying rent to China. At the Washington Conference, France and England declared their intention to restore them to China, but they have never done it.

There are ten cities with concessions and settlements where the foreigners have a government of their own. They are: Amoy, Canton, Chinkiang, Hangchow, Hankow, Kiukiang, Newchang, Shanghai, Soochow and Tientsin. Although in practice there is no difference between a concession and a settlement, in theory there is one. A concession is an area leased to a foreign power upon which an annual land tax is paid by the foreign power to the Chinese Government and within which foreign nationals obtain leases from the consular authority of the power which holds the concession. But a settlement is a deliminated area within which the foreigners obtain a lease from the Chinese land office. These two terms, however, are often synonymously used.

The following powers still hold their concessions in China:

Great Britain	*Japan*	*France*
Amoy	Amoy	Canton
Canton	Hankow	Hankow
Tientsin	Tientsin	Tientsin
Chinkiang	Hangchow	Shanghai
Newchwang	Soochow	

Italy and Belgium also have concessions in Tientsin. The United States has no concessions, excepting a small one at Amoy which is occupied entirely by Chinese, over which the American Government exercises practically no control. American residents share in the international settlements at Shanghai and Amoy. The former Russian and German concessions and the British concessions at Kiukiang and Hankow have already been taken over by the Chinese. Now they want to abolish all other concessions. Besides these concessions, there are some fifty treaty ports where the foreigners can reside, although there are no concessions of their own.

In these leased territories and settlements the rule of the alien is absolute. For example, at the Shanghai International Settlement, the Chinese population constitutes ninety per cent of the whole, and they pay eighty-five per cent of the municipal tax, but they were not given representation at the municipal council. But in March, 1927, the Shanghai Municipal Council invited the Chinese inhabitants to elect three Chinese members. At first they refused to participate, insisting upon equal representation. In April,

1928, the Chinese elected three members to represent them in the municipal council. Six Chinese also serve in various council committees.

Every sovereign state has exclusive control over its inland waters, but China has no control over hers. Foreign vessels flying foreign flags come into the heart of China, sometimes carrying undesirable articles, but the Chinese authorities cannot interfere because the foreign vessels enjoy extraterritoriality.

Every state has the exclusive right to regulate its transportation and communication, but China has not the same right. The Great Northern Telegraph Company, a Danish corporation but largely British owned and controlled, secured a monopoly until 1931 and no other company can land a cable on Chinese soil until after 1931. The Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, a Japanese firm, claimed monopoly rights to operate radio stations in China by the agreement of 1918 between China and the company. The Federal Telegraph Company of Delaware also secured rights to operate wireless stations in China. After a long controversy between the United States and Japan an agreement was made in August, 1927, by which all the rights to operate wireless stations secured by their respective interests are to be restored, and China is to operate wireless stations with loans from the American, British, French and Japanese interests.

Nordic Snobbery

One of the greatest offenses of the foreigner in the eyes of the Chinese is his contemptible, arrogant, overbearing attitude toward the Chinese in their own country. When the Chinese come to this country, whether of the educated class or otherwise, they do not look down upon your people; they respect you and admire you. But when the foreigners come to China, they look down upon the Chinese as cheap, inferior and semi-savage. And, indeed, from their viewpoint, why not? They can make more money than the Chinese; they are better dressed; they have better homes and better buildings. They belong to the powerful imperialistic nations whose airships hover over the land and whose iron-clad battleships sail the waters for their protection. Why should they worry? Whom should they fear? Their mode, their feeling, and their action—all proclaim them complacent, self-satisfied lords of creation.

The Shanghai international settlement, where some 30,000 white people live, constitutes the most exclusive aristocratic center in the world. Their relation with the Chinese is as exclusive as the Indian caste system. They mingle with the Chinese about as readily as oil mixes with water. To have a Chinese acquaintance is a disgrace to them. Political equality, racial equality and social equality are unknown fables to them.

The foreigners, most of whom would never dream of having a servant if they lived in their own country, have maids, valets and a kitchen staff. If a foreign resident of Shanghai wishes to visit his home in London, he takes the first class from Shanghai to Hongkong to show his prestige to the Chinese. From Hongkong he takes the second class to London, thence he goes home by street car.

A foreign tourist once asked a Chinese what the foreigners in China do for their living. "They do nothing; they are all gentlemen," replied the Chinese. When the tourist asked what he meant by a gentleman, the Chinese replied: "Oh, they are the foreigners who sing, dance, drink and curse." That is a sensible definition of a gentleman!

The foreigners built a beautiful park at the Shanghai International Settlement. The Chinese all appreciate it very much; they paid only eighty per cent of the taxes to build the park. The foreigners also had a sign at the gate which forbade the admission of Chinese, bicycles and dogs. Since June 1, 1928, however, this gate is open to the Chinese.

On June 10, 1928, there was to be held a review of cadets at the Chinese recreation ground on the east side of the city of Shanghai. If the students living on the west side go around the foreign settlement they have to travel a distance of ten to twelve miles. About 150 students, unarmed but in cadet uni-

form, while passing through the foreign settlement as a short cut to the parade ground, were arrested by the municipal police and were taken to the police station, where they were divested of their coats and caps and turned out on the streets.

It is only justice to say that the French are more broadminded than other foreigners in this respect. They are less exclusive than the English and are not so reluctant to mix with the Chinese. In the French concession the Chinese are allowed to enter the parks freely. This is due to the fact that the French idea of colonization is to assimilate the natives. In the French Chamber of Deputies, the French representative and the delegates from the colonies sit side by side in the same house. But this practice is unheard of in England. When the Frenchmen go to Cochin-China, they mix with the native tribes. When the Algerians from Africa and the Annamese from Cochin-China go to France, they mingle freely with the French and are often seen walking on the boulevards of Paris in company with the French fair sex. This custom is also unheard of in the English-speaking world.

An Englishman visiting Shanghai, with a Chinese who had been a former classmate of his at Oxford University, and a British business man residing in Shanghai went out for a short walk. All of a sudden, in the midst of the conversation, the British business

man addressed the Chinese as a "damn fool." The English visitor was exceedingly surprised and criticized his countryman severely. Thereupon, the Chinese commented: "That is all right, the foreigners here usually talk to each other in that manner and I am glad he treats me as he does his fellow countrymen."

Senator Hiram W. Bingham of Connecticut, who recently refused to accept an invitation to an American club dinner in Manila from which Filipinos were excluded, related some of his experiences in Shanghai, which he cited to illustrate "the snobbery of the white man in his contact with the Oriental."

He had called upon a wealthy and highly respected Chinese in that city, a graduate of Yale, who happened to be an old friend. This man's wife had been educated, as had her daughters, in a first-rate girls' school in America and the two sons of the family had also graduated from Yale. The Chinese desired to cash a check for some $1,800 to meet his payroll for the week. Bingham accompanied him to the bank of the International Banking Corporation. The Chinese went to the paying teller's window and presented the check to the white cashier for payment.

"What the h— do you mean coming in here?" snarled the gentlemanly Nordic. "Get the h— out of here, you d— Chinaman, and go down to the other end of the building with the rest of the Chinamen!"

The Chinese made no reply, but quietly withdrew.

Senator Bingham went on to tell of a conversation he had in Tientsin with another cultured Chinese, also a graduate of Yale. When he asked this man what was the real reason for the anti-foreign feeling in China, he replied that it was the insolence, the snobbery and assumption of superiority of the white man, his insulting treatment of the Chinese on their own soil. "Never," the Chinese said, "can there be friendship as long as the white race send men to China, whether missionaries or business men, who treat the Chinese like dogs."

Once an American visitor in Shanghai, without knowing the cursed practice of the arrogant foreigners, invited his Chinese friend to join him at a club dinner given in his honor. The eminent Chinese scholar was ordered to sneak in from the back door, for no Chinese is honorable enough in his own country to come in through the main entrance in equality with the white aliens, and the front door was reserved for the foreigners who can come in with canes in hand, cigars in mouth and a self-important swagger!

Against all these unjust practices of the foreign nations and the contemptible attitude of the white men, the new China revolts and the Nationalist Movement is launched. Yet the foreign exploiters, their imperialists and propagandists talk loudly of

the clash of races, conflict of color, and the yellow peril. Yellow peril? Applesauce!

President Coolidge was right when he said in his Gettysburg Memorial address on May 30, 1928: "The carelessness of some of our citizens abroad in violating domestic law and in assuming an arrogant attitude toward local inhabitants tends to bring our country into disrepute and endangers the continuance of friendly relations with nations."

In addressing the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai, Judge John Barton Payne, chairman of the American Red Cross, declared: "Much of the foreigner's trouble in China has been due to the arrogance, bumptiousness and foolishness of some foreign residents, who ought to return home if they do not like residence in China."

Whether he is a Frenchman, an Englishman or an American, a cultured and educated gentleman is a gentleman anywhere and he knows how to behave himself and respect the other man's ideals. For that reason he does not create bitter race antagonism. At the Shanghai Rotary Club, there are 100 members, of which ten are full-blooded Chinese and others are the most important foreign business-men. Among the Rotarians there is no race superiority complex, no Nordic snobbery, no discrimination. They are all good friends. They sit down and eat together, joke and laugh together, play and sing together the old

familiar luncheon songs. It is a good example of peaceful living among the educated peoples of the world.

One great reason why the attitude of most foreigners in China is unbearable is the fact that a great majority of the foreigners we have in China are not fair representatives of the white race, just as the Chinese residing in your country are not fair representatives of the Chinese race. Most of the alien population in China is made up of fortune hunters, money makers and unscrupulous exploiters. Their attitude toward the Chinese will change greatly if they have no extraterritoriality and no protection by the gunboats of their own country, and young China struggles to abolish extraterritoriality and to drive out foreign gunboats from Chinese waters.

Foreign Policy of the Kuomintang

China has determined, once for all, to end extraterritoriality, concessions, and leased territories, and to regain tariff autonomy, and to quash all unequal treaties now existing between China and the powers.

At the First Kuomintang Congress held in January, 1924, the following resolutions were passed:

1. The abolition of all treaties not based on the equality of both contracting parties. Under this head, extraterritoriality, the foreign-controlled customs duties and all political rights which foreign nations now exercise in the country ought to be abol-

ished, and new treaties, based on the principle of the mutual recognition of sovereign rights, to be concluded.

2. All nations which voluntarily relinquish their special rights mentioned and are willing to abrogate all treaties derogatory of China's sovereignty, China recognizes as most favored nations.

3. All other treaties which infringe upon the national interests of China ought to be reconsidered. During their reconstruction mutual respect for the sovereign rights of both contracting powers is to be recognized as the fundamental principle.

4. China's external debts ought, within the limits of political and industrial security, to be guaranteed and refunded.

5. All of China's external debts which have been negotiated by irresponsible governments, such as the Peking Government that came into power in October, 1923, and which have been used not for the promotion of the people's welfare but for the maintenance of personal honors and offices and the prosecution of civil wars, are unwarranted. The Chinese people are not responsible for the repayment of such debts. (The nationalists decided to recognize all foreign loans at a conference of 150 delegates held in July, 1928.)

6. A national convention of the professional groups of all provinces (such as banking associations and chambers of commerce) ought to be called in order to devise ways and means for the funding of China's external debts, thus enabling her to escape from the semi-dependent state into which she has been thrown.

The Nationalist Government Council issued on June 15, 1928, a formal declaration on the subject of foreign policy, which reads in part:

"For eighty years China has been under the shackles of unequal treaties. These restrictions are in contravention of the principles of international law and of mutual respect for one another's sovereignty and are not allowed by any sovereign state. Hence China has, in various declarations, asked for the sympathetic understanding of the friendly nations. We are pleased to note that since the latter part of 1926, the spokesmen of the powers have expressed their willingness to negotiate new equal treaties. Now that the unification of China is being consummated we think the time is ripe for taking a further step to begin at once to negotiate, in accordance with diplomatic procedure, new treaties on the basis of complete equality and mutual respect for each other's sovereignty. The Nationalist Government firmly believes that when this is accomplished, the friendly relations between China and the other powers, the good-will among the peoples and China's international trade and her facilities for transportation will be ever on the increase; and even better protection will be afforded to the lives and property of foreigners in China.

"The Nationalist Government wishes to make to the friendly nations the further declaration that it will not disregard nor has it disregarded any international responsibility in consequence of agreements and understandings properly and legally concluded and on the basis of equality. When the treaty restric-

tions are removed, the mutual assistance, morally as well as materially, that may be rendered between China and the other powers will no doubt enhance the progress of the civilization of the world.

"With proud sincerity the Nationalist Government, in the name of the people of all China, makes the foregoing declarations to the whole world; and hopes that all friendly nations will accord their fullest sympathetic understanding to its program of a new state as a step toward the attainment of the ideal of mutual help for the glory of mankind and for the permanent peace of the world."

C. T. Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued on July 7, 1928, an official declaration with regard to all the unequal treaties:

1. All the unequal treaties between the Republic of China and other countries, which have already expired, shall be *ipso facto* abrogated, and new treaties shall be concluded.

2. The Nationalist Government will immediately take steps to terminate, in accordance with proper procedure, those unequal treaties which have not yet expired, and conclude new treaties.

3. In the case of old treaties which have already expired but which have not yet been replaced by new treaties, the Nationalist Government will promulgate appropriate *interim* regulations to meet the exigencies of such situation.

The Attitude of the Powers

The attitude of the powers toward Chinese aspira-

tions has been quite friendly, notably that of Russia and the United States.

Being rejected and excluded from Europe, Russia turned to downtrodden China. She renounced all rights, including extraterritoriality, customs control, residential concessions and legation guards, and concluded a new treaty in 1924 based on equal footing. Then she sent to China an ambassador while other nations sent ministers, below the rank of an ambassador. She brought the Chinese Eastern Railway under the joint management of Russia and China. She furnished the Chinese Government with technical advisers, men like Joffe and Borodin, who helped China to organize labor unions and student organizations and express her national aspirations. Russia stirred the youth of China to free their country and master their fate. There is no question that Russia gave China all her sympathy and co-operation.

Mr. Brailsford, writing from Moscow in March, 1927, said: "The youth of Russia has at this moment only one dream—to go to China to fight for Kuomintang, or in some other way to help this popular cause which has fired its romantic imagination. . . . They (the Chinese) have found a welcome here. If Russia is proud of anything at the moment it is of the confidence which the Chinese repose in her."

We have heard a great deal in recent years about sovietizing China. Socialism, however, is nothing

new in China. In the beginning of the Christian era, Wang Mang attempted to abolish private property and regulate prices by law. Again in 1069 A.D., Wang An-shin, a noted statesman, tried socialism. But their experiments were unsuccessful. What China needs today is not Bolshevism but freedom, equality, education and industry. The main difficulty in that country is not unequal distribution of wealth but the lack of wealth. China has no exploiting class, no great landholders. Bolshevism is regarded inapplicable in that country because the Chinese economic system is entirely different from the Russian system. The Russians themselves admit that China is not suited for Bolshevism. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Commissariat for Foreign Affairs wanted to stir up the Chinese without attempting to make such movement communistic. But the Third International overruled the Commissariat and carried out communistic propaganda through their constituencies in China and caused the riots in Hankow and Nanking, and the Canton coup d'état. Since the Nanking Affair in March, 1927, the Nationalist Government severed all relations with the Soviet Government.

The recent Sino-Russian conflict over the Chinese Eastern Railway across northern Manchuria added more complications to the already delicate relations between the two countries.

The British Government declared at Christmas-

time, 1926, that it would modify extraterritoriality, put into effect the surtax provided at the Washington Conference, and revise unequal treaties. But it failed to put through this program because other powers did not co-operate with England. The British Government of the present, however, appears to view Chinese aspirations toward autonomy and true national sovereignty with an eye of sympathy. The most recent practical proof of this is the new treaty, concluded with the Nationalist Government on December 21, 1928, by which Great Britain gives official recognition to the new Chinese Government and grants tariff autonomy to China.

The United States has always been a friend of China. When the western nations were about to carve up China, John Hay declared the Open Door policy and territorial integrity for China. President Roosevelt returned a part of the Boxer's indemnity for the education of the Chinese. President Harding called the Washington Conference to give China a chance, and to curb foreign aggression.

According to the wishes of the Chinese people, Secretary Kellogg stated on September 4, 1925, and again on January 27, 1927, that the United States is ready to enter negotiations with any government in China which can represent or speak for China. Senator Borah, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, shared the same view with the

administration. The House of Representatives passed a resolution on February 21, 1927, asking the United States to make a new treaty independently with China if co-operation with other powers would be difficult. On July 25, 1928, the United States gave the Nationalist Government a *de facto* recognition and concluded a new tariff treaty, to be effective when ratified by the High Contracting Parties. It provides for tariff autonomy on a most-favored-nation basis, effective January 1, 1929, subject to similar action by other powers.

On the other hand, the Japanese attitude toward the struggling Chinese nationalists is quite unfriendly. The Chinese note of July 19, 1928, announcing the expiration of the Sino-Japanese commercial treaty of 1866, modified in 1896, has brought forth a bitter controversy between Japan and China. The most important provisions of that treaty are those guaranteeing to Japan extraterritoriality, most-favored-nation treatment, and tariff regulations in accordance with those of the western powers. The controversy arose chiefly on the interpretation of Article 26 of that treaty, which reads:

"It is agreed that either of the High Contracting Parties may demand a revision of the tariffs and of the commercial articles of this treaty at the end of ten years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications; but if no such demand be made on either

side and no such revisions be effected, within six months after the end of the first ten years, then the treaty and tariff, in their present form, shall remain in force for ten years more, reckoned from the end of the preceding ten years, and so it shall be at the end of each successive period of ten years."

In accordance with this provision, the Chinese Government wished to negotiate a new treaty. But the parties could not agree upon a new treaty in six months, as provided in the articles, and five extensions, of three months in each extension, were made. They held over thirty meetings but could still not agree upon the new treaty. The main difficulty was owing to China's refusal to grant a special tariff rate. On July 19, 1928, Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government, announced the expiration of the treaty of 1896, and proposed that, during the period of negotiation for revision of the treaty certain provisional regulations laid down by China should govern the relations between the two countries. Japan strongly denied the validity of the Chinese action by holding that the treaty is not expired and that it cannot be abrogated by a unilateral declaration. The Japanese Government, however, is willing to renew negotiations for revision. A great fear is felt in Japan that, after the revision or abrogation of the treaty of 1896, China's next step will be to abrogate the Sino-Japanese treaty

of 1915, which will greatly affect Japanese interests in Manchuria.

China already declared abrogated the Belgian, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian and Danish treaties by unilateral declaration. China's right to abrogate those treaties cannot be challenged, since it has been the universal practice of the nations to denounce those enforced treaties whenever able to do so. China's determination to scrap these unequal treaties is well expressed in the statement of President Chiang Kai-shek when he declared, in March, 1929, that if the unequal treaties were not abolished in three years he would lay his head on the executioner's block.

All familiar with the present conditions in China will thoroughly sympathize with the nationalist struggle for freedom and independence. But the proper way to free China from the unjust and unfair treatments seems to lie, not in the attack of the foreigners and foreign powers, but in the unity at home and in the domestic development of that country. When the Chinese people are solidly united, and when an efficient government is well established, it will take little time to convince the powers to abolish extraterritoriality and scrap all the unequal treaties. It is well worth while to quote Dr. Hu Shih, who said: "What is needed today, it seems to me, is a deep conviction, which should amount almost to a

religious repentance, that we Chinese are backward in everything and that every other modern nation in the world is much better off than we are. For all this we have ourselves to blame! Let us no longer deceive ourselves with self-complacent talks about imperialistic powers hampering our national progress and prosperity. Let us read the recent history of Japan and bury our conceit and self-deception once for all in shame and repentance."

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CHAPTER XIII

The Revolt of China Against Christianity

The Five Great Crises

AFTER the Nanking bombardment on March 24, 1927, by the American and British gunboats, more than half of the missionaries left the field and returned home. Many churches and mission schools still remain closed, but the anti-Christian sentiment agitates the surging masses throughout the land. With the triumph of the Nationalist Party, whose attitude toward foreign institutions is unfriendly, the problem of the missions is becoming increasingly perplexing.

The present crisis is not without precedent. There have been four other great crises in the history of the Christian Church in China.

In the eighth century the Nestorian Christians, who had flourished in China, were persecuted and their work was forgotten until the discovery of a stone tablet at Sinanfu nearly a thousand years later.

In the thirteenth century Catholic missionaries won high favor at the Mongol court, but this favor died out with the dying of the Mongol dynasty. In

the seventeenth century the priests returned to China, and again they won high favor. But the Jesuits and the Franciscans, who were struggling for supremacy, were jealous of each other, and trouble arose between them. They quarreled over the question whether or not Confucianism is an idolatry. The Chinese emperor was exasperated, and issued an anti-Christian edict suppressing Christianity and confiscating church properties and making it unlawful to become a Christian. This edict was in force until 1844.

Protestant missionary work was inaugurated in 1807, with the coming of Robert Morrison, a British subject, who came to China on an American ship and obtained aid from the British East India Company which accumulated wealth from the sale of Indian opium to the Chinese. From this we can judge that not all the money spent for opium by the Chinese was wasted; at least a part of it came back to China in a form of missionary enterprise! The first great crisis since the inauguration of the Protestant missionary movement came during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, and the second crisis in the spring of 1927.

One important question is: "Will the churches and missions survive the present crisis, or will they face extermination?" With this question in mind, I would like to present the causes of anti-Christian agitation

in China from the Chinese standpoint, for I feel that if we can understand the exact nature of their objections to Christianity, we will be able to see whether or not the churches can meet their challenge.

Causes of Anti-Christian Agitation

Most any missionary will say that the Reds or Bolsheviks stirred up all the anti-Christian sentiments in China. Yes, the Reds and the Pinks are responsible for, at least, a part of the anti-Christian agitations in China. The Bolsheviks are instinctively anti-religious for the reason that the Russian orthodox church served as an instrument of exploiting the toiling masses of the Russian proletariat. Undoubtedly in many places in China the Soviet agitators spread the anti-Christian literatures and instigated the ignorant coolies to attack the mission quarters. But the Chinese do not think Bolshevism is an important cause of the anti-Christian movement. Another cause of the anti-Christian agitation the missionary would say, is the Chinese Nationalism. Chinese Nationalists are critical of all foreign institutions and foreign religion: they examine Christianity and the methods employed by the missionaries very critically. When they find shortcomings, they spread them throughout the country. Thus, from the standpoint of the missionaries, nationalism which the mis-

sionaries themselves helped to develop in China, is behind the new uprising against Christianity.

But the following are the outstanding causes, most often emphasized by the Chinese anti-Christian agitators. I present them in detail so that the missionaries and Christians interested in the missions may be advised how to meet the situation.

Hypocrisy of the White Man's Burden. It is true that a missionary is kinder and sincerer to the native Chinese than an average foreigner in that country. He comes there not to make money out of them; he comes to help them and serve them. But unfortunately, as the anti-Christians point out, the missionary is not free from the race superiority complex. His very mission is based on the religious and cultural superiority complex of the white man.

> From many an ancient river,
> From many a palmy plain,
> They call us to deliver
> Their land from error's chain.
>
> Shall we whose souls are lighted
> With wisdom from on high,
> Shall we to men benighted
> The lamp of life deny?

Every verse of this famous missionary hymn is based on the religious superiority complex of the western people. With the assurance that his belief is superior to that of the natives, his culture is better

than that of other races, the missionary comes with his bankers, merchants and soldiers to take up the "White Man's Burden" of civilizing the savages, "sullen, silent, half devil and half child."

The Chinese, however, do not look at the missionary as a civilizing agent. To them the missionary is a blind, puffed-up, self-conceited heathen, who, ignorant of the ideals of the civilized Chinese, forces upon them the western culture as a means of spiritual conquest. To them the missionary and the merchant are alike part of an army of conquest. The ringing of church bells and the roaring of cannon are all the same to their ears.

Christian Bigotry. Next, the anti-Christians point out the fact that the Oriental people as a whole are more tolerant in regard to their religious belief than the white people, and they are more Christian in one sense than the so-called Christians. Western history is filled with religious wars, but there is no religious war in Oriental history which can be compared with those of Occidental countries.

While the western world "burned heretics at the stake, cut off their flesh with oyster shells and put out their eyes with hot pokers or tore their tongues out by the roots," China worked out a system to harmonize the various religious elements. Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and Mohammedanism existed side by side with little friction. The Chinese might

have tolerated Christianity as they did Buddhism imported from India, had not the missionaries themselves created religious bigotry. The Christians carried with them bigotry from their homeland to the distant Orient and destroyed harmony and provoked conflict. They called Confucianism an idolatry. They wrecked the Confucian shrines and tore down Buddha's images. They did not allow the converted Christians to pay contributions for the support of Confucian shrines. By so doing the missionaries dug their own grave—they have made the Chinese intolerant toward Christianity.

A heathen Chinese is, perhaps, less educated, but as a rule better cultured than the average missionary. Even if he is a coolie, he knows how to respect the ideals of others and how to listen with respect to what others have to say. But the orthodox missionary has little of that cultivated disposition. Without knowing a thing about the Chinese civilization, her religion, her philosophy and her literature, he simply condemns them by wholesale, and says, "You heathen Chinee, believe what I believe and exactly as I believe, or you will go to hell." What a nerve! How does he know that his belief is better than that of the Chinese, without knowing what that belief is?

Let us suppose that a Chinese Buddhist comes to America, calls Christianity paganism and says to you, "You heathen Yankee, believe in Buddhism as I

believe, or you will go to hell." What would you do to him? You might drive him out of town, or stone him, or lynch him even before giving him a chance to say what he has to say. When we consider these things the Chinese do not kill enough missionaries. What a wonderful thing it would be if the missionaries would study the Chinese ideals and civilization before they begin to preach and then give to the Orientals what they lack, while willingly taking from them what they have better than the West has!

The modern missionary in Nationalist China must be a cultured scholar who admits that not all of what he has is Christian, not all of what China has is heathen, and who, with this knowledge and conviction is willing both to give and take—to take what the Chinese have that has value and to give them what they have not.

Christ vs. Christianity. Thirdly, they point out that there is no Christ in Christianity. "India wants Christ but not Christianity," said Stanley Jones in his book entitled the "Christ of the Indian Road." So it is in China. I do not think there is any nation under the sun which will refuse to accept Christ, the symbol of life, love, justice and humanity. But they are reluctant to welcome Christianity as painted and spoiled by the western peoples. Mahatma Gandhi said on this point: "Why should you self-styled whites get it into your heads that Christianity is

your special largess to distribute and interpret? You have made a mess of it yourselves. As a matter of fact, Christ was originally an Asiatic as were all founders of religions, and I think we understand him much better than you do."

A great trouble with the missionaries of the passing generation, according to their criticism, is the fact that they do not preach Christ nor much of Christianity either. They preach creed, formalities, and denominationalism. Just think, there are nearly 10,000 missionaries in China working under the auspices of some 200 independent denominations! One man says that to sprinkle with water is the best method of believing in Christ; another says that to dive in the pool is the best method.

The presence of various denominations in China undoubtedly causes great confusion in the minds of the native Christians and conflict and jealousy among the missionaries themselves. Two hundred years ago Emperor Kang Hsi said to the Catholic missions: "Those who have already embraced your religion, perceiving the perpetual conflicts that reign amongst you, begin to doubt its truth, and the others are rendered every day less disposed to embrace it. For myself I consider you to be persons who are come to China, not to found or to establish your religion, but to break down and destroy it. If it should come to nothing, you can only impute it to yourselves."

The present tendency is to ignore denominational differences and promote unity and co-operation. In 1922, the Protestant churches in China organized a National Christian Council of China. In 1927, sixteen leading denominations met in Shanghai and proposed to organize a united church of China. The International Missionary Council of the Protestant Churches met in Jerusalem on March 28 to April 8, 1928, and resolved to ignore denominationalism and to establish indigenous churches under the leadership of the native Christians.

The Unchristian Christian. One day an American bishop visited a wealthy Chinese Christian. He had with him two subscription books. He asked the Chinese for a donation to help build a church for the Chinese Christians. The wealthy Chinese donated $100, and when the bishop was ready to depart, the Chinese Christian asked him what the other subscription book was about. The bishop replied that in the other book he was raising a fund to build a church for the foreigners and that he would not ask the Chinese to donate for that. Whereupon the Chinese said: "If you are going to build a church for the swearing, gambling and drinking foreigners, then I am going to give you another $100."

If Christianity is needed in China, the foreign marines, diplomats, foreign money-makers and some of the missionaries themselves need it much more

than the "heathen Chinese" do. The missionaries can say that since not all the foreigners are Christians, Christianity is not responsible for their dishonorable conduct, but the Chinese have the right to question why do not the missionaries convert themselves and their fellow-countrymen to Christ before they bother with the Chinese.

As a rule the missionaries behave themselves much better than the average foreigner; they ought to. But not all the missionaries are what they are supposed to be. I know a good missionary lady who has been in China for twenty-five years. She is supposed to be one of the outstanding missionaries, yet she is not free from race prejudice. She receives the European visitors by the front door, but she receives the Chinese guests by the kitchen door! It might be said that the Chinese are her more intimate friends and more familiar than her own fellow-countrymen, but that does not seem to be the case with her. This kind of practice is not common among the missionaries, but the anti-Christian agitators generalize these exceptions and discredit all other good missionaries.

A Chinese once told me that if he ever learned how to kill a man he would kill a missionary. When asked for his reason, he said that when his dear daughter was sick and sought treatment at the missionary hospital, she was denied the treatment on the ground that she was not a Christian. It may be

within the power and right of the missionary to refuse to cure the dying Chinese girl because she was not a Christian, but it is a great offense in the eyes of the Chinese. This does not mean that all the missionaries practice this cruel method in all places. Not only at the hospitals but also in some mission schools, non-Christian Chinese children are discriminated against. A dull child may gain admittance to the school if his parents are Christians, but a bright child may be denied the privilege because his parents are not Christians. If the missionaries take care to avoid such discriminatory methods, they will gain more sympathy and less prejudice from the Chinese.

Christianity and Imperialism. "Christianity is a correlating imperialism," is the cry of the anti-Christians. The white man sends out first his missionary with the Bible, who preaches the love of Christ. Then he sends out his merchants with whiskey and opium to clean out the pockets of these people. Finally he sends out iron-clad battleships loaded with soldiers to seize the lands and murder the people whose only crime is their refusal to be exploited. The white man does all these things in the name of Justice and Christianity. The Orientals, having exhausted their sense of humor, cannot appreciate the white man's program, and therefore reject it all.

The nations have abused Christianity by using it as a vanguard of imperialism. The missionaries have

worked consciously or unconsciously, for the interests of their own country instead of for the Kingdom of God. Livingstone, the famous Scottish missionary, led the European nations into the conquest of Africa. Fabri, the inspector of the German Missionary Society in Southwest Africa, converted more Germans to imperialism than he did Africans to Christianity. Henry Morton Stanley, although not a missionary, believed that Christianizing the backward people is a good business, when he spoke in Manchester in 1884: "Assuming that Christianity and civilization would teach the naked negroes of the Congo to wear decent cotton clothes, at least on Sunday, one Sunday dress for each native means 32,000,000 yards of Manchester cotton cloth." (Cheers from the audience.)

Having conquered Africa with the co-operation of the missionaries, the nations turned to Asia. They used the same method to conquer the Orient as they had to conquer Africa. The missionaries in the earlier days helped their fellow-countrymen to grab the land and gain special privileges. The missionaries were the powerful advisers of Caleb Cushing, the American minister to China, when in 1844 he drew up the treaty which formed the basis of the extraterritorial system against which the Chinese complain so bitterly today. Missionaries again were the chief advisers in drawing up the treaty which

followed the Second Opium War in 1858, when the so-called "toleration clause" forcing China to tolerate Christianity, was insisted upon. The French Government gained in 1860 the concession for the French missionaries to lease or buy land and build houses in any of the provinces. This right was automatically extended to the missionaries of all other nations by virtue of "the most-favored-nation clause." The missionaries brought pressure upon the Chinese Government to issue the order of 1862, which freed the Chinese Christians from paying taxes for the support of Chinese religions. Missionaries were used in maneuvering the French annexation of Annam in the 80's. The murder of two German missionaries in 1897 was used as the official excuse for the German occupation of Kiaochow, the Russian lease of Port Arthur and Dalny, the British occupation of Wei-hai-wei and Kowloon, and French possession of Kwangchow-wan. As you see, it is a profitable business. The loss of one missionary would give them excuse enough to gobble up the whole country!

The nature of this thing was revealed again during the last crisis at Nanking where several foreigners were killed. Missionaries and business men alike urged their government to pursue a stern policy of force and deliver an ultimatum. Nothing need be said in this connection regarding the business men, for they have always been imperialistic and militaris-

tic. But when a missionary loses his religion and his head, and lines himself up with gunboats and marines, the problem becomes very serious. It is little wonder, then, that Tang Leang-li said in "China in Revolt" that "The missionary is a greater menace than the captain of a hostile armada." He goes too far, of course, but there is a great deal of truth in what he says.

Due to the un-Christian practices of the so-called Christian nations in the West, the contradictory preachings of different creeds, and formalities by some of the fanatic missionaries of the proselyting type and the anti-religious propaganda spread by the agnostics, atheists and radicals saturated with Bolshevism, the Oriental people are obliged to identify the missionary with the gunboats and Christianity with imperialism, and Christ is so painted as to appear before them as a picture of the devil rather than one of God. It is a shame that Christ is misrepresented in the Orient; it is a shame that many of the thoughtful, enlightened missionaries, to whom China owes a great debt of gratitude, are mobbed, maltreated and humiliated like the rest of the undesirables. It must be borne in mind that a religion will never triumph with the aid of force. The Bible and opium, the missionaries and the gunboats will never work together in China. No matter what may happen, the church must not invite battleships to its sup-

port in the missions. If the missionaries cannot stay there without the protection of gunboats they had better get out of China. At any rate Christianity must be allowed to grow without being interfered with by the white man's imperialism and militarism.

In Defense of the Missions

There are, of course, some criticisms against the missionary; there are some undesirable missionaries who should have gone to jail instead of coming to China to preach. But as a whole, the missionaries are the most desirable foreigners we have in China. They have always stood for the good of China and they have always been sympathetic to the Chinese cause. At the conference of the National Christian Council of China held at Nanking on October 11 to 18, 1928, the delegates adopted a resolution to support the new Nationalist Government in its struggle to make a new China. The Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian Mission boards in America decided in November, 1928, that they would waive their claims against China for the damages received in Nanking, in 1927. The British missionaries likewise decided to waive their claims for damages received during the political unrest in China. They have requested their governments to abolish the unequal treaties with China and they have endeavored to be placed out-

side of the protection of their gunboats and of extraterritoriality.

The great contribution and service the missionaries rendered to China can hardly be overestimated. The missionaries introduced into China the western sciences, art and literature. They brought in democracy and helped arouse Chinese nationalism. They built schools and educated a half million Chinese children. The fact that nearly fifty per cent of the nationalist leaders received a part of their early education in these mission schools is a great tribute to the missionaries. They build hospitals and take care of the sick and unfortunate people. They spend millions of dollars and sacrifice their very lives to bring light to the unfortunate country.

The missionaries, numbering 10,000, and the native Christians including 700,000 Protestants and 2,000,000 Catholics, fight against opium evils and foreign exploitation and stuggle for social welfare, moral uplift and world brotherhood. In short, the missionary is the greatest civilizing agent of the white man in the Far East. You have accomplished more through your missionaries than through any other organization or agent.

Outlook of the Missions

Three hundred years ago there was severe persecution of Christians in Japan. All the missionaries

and native Christians were either killed or driven out of the country. The Shogun closed Japan to Christians in 1640, with the following statement: "So long as the sun warms the earth, any Christian bold enough to come to Japan, even if he be King Philip himself, or the very God of the Christians, shall pay for it with his head."

It was surely thought that that was the end of Christian missions in Japan. But seventy-five years ago, when Japan was reopened and the teachings of Christianity were allowed, to the surprise of the world there were found many Christians in Nagasaki whom it was believed had been driven out. Thus, for 225 years Christianity had lived in secret, under the guise of Buddhism. The Japanese Christians made themselves appear like Buddhists; they kept the image of the Virgin Mary in the guise of a Buddha.

"Christianity is to stop right now," declared Dr. Wong Ching-wai, one of the most eminent statesmen in the Nationalist Government. "It will have the same opportunity in our new China as, say, Buddhism in your America."

This does not mean that the Nationalist China is going to exclude all missionaries and suppress Christianity. The Chinese people, being very tolerant in regard to their religious views, will preserve by all means the sacred freedom of religion in their new

constitution. Churches and church schools will be allowed to be operated as before, but under the leadership of the native Christians, and the position of the missionaries will be changed from that of bosses into that of advisers and teachers. The home churches are already adopting themselves to the new situation by emphasizing the necessity of operating churches and mission schools under native leadership. The Methodist Episcopal Church created a native Chinese bishop at the General Conference held in Kansas City in May, 1928. The Catholic Churches created a half dozen native bishops. All the Y. M. C. A.'s in China are under the direction of native leaders. The changing of the leadership from the foreigners into the native Christians will undoubtedly make the Chinese feel more at home with Christ. It must be remembered that so long as the Chinese feel that Christ is an alien, he has little chance in the new China. If Christianity is to stay in China it must be naturalized in that country and become a truly Chinese religion.

One of the greatest difficulties the missionaries are facing now is the government regulation of the mission schools. There are eighteen Christian colleges and universities and hundreds of secondary and primary schools where about a half million pupils are provided for. The Chinese Government attempts to

regulate these schools in the belief that the foreigners are denationalizing the Chinese students. It requires that the mission schools have a Chinese president, a board of directors of whom the majority shall be Chinese, that they shall hold on every Monday morning a commemoration service for Dr. Sun Yat-sen and that they require no compulsory religious training. This does not mean that religious teaching shall be entirely prohibited from the schools.

Courses in religion can be given to those who wish to take it voluntarily but it must be dropped from the list of required courses for graduation. At the National Educational Conference held at Nanking in May, 1928, it was decided that no foreigner shall be permitted to open schools in China after 1930.

The question is whether or not the home churches in America and Europe will continue to support these schools where religious training is omitted from the list of required subjects. Some schools are already open under this regulation and some still remain closed. Similar rules were established by Siam and by Japan in Korea, but the mission schools are operating at full speed. There is no reason why the mission schools must be closed on this account. The Episcopal Churches in America, however, passed a resolution not to support their mission schools where

is held the ceremony in commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen—another sign of intolerance. The ceremony has no religious significance; it is a short patriotic ceremony commemorating Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who was a Christian himself. Whether they will support their schools or close them down, is not my affair. But I would like to quote President Ernest Burton of Chicago University, who, when he was sent to China as Chairman of China Education Commission six years ago, forecast the situation:

"I hope the time will never come when we shall have to face the question of conducting schools in which no religion can be taught. But if we should have to face that question, I would stay and seek to express the Christian spirit by giving the most helpful service even if they refused to let us give them in words."

Today marks the end of the old missions, with the fanatic, intolerant, superstitious missionaries of the proselyting type, and it also marks the beginning of the new missions, conducted by cultured, enlightened, international minded missionaries, messengers of peace and friendship.

Without the protection of gunboats, without singing, "Greenland's Icy Mountain," without the shouting of the obnoxious word, "heathen," without dictating to the native Christians as to their conduct

in public and secular affairs, these new missionaries, serving as advisers, educators, and physicians, will exemplify the spirit of Christ to the world, as the old type missionary never could. By sending out such scholarly, cultured, enlightened men and women to serve in the mission field you are rendering a service of the highest type and making it possible to bring about "Peace on earth and good will toward men."

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